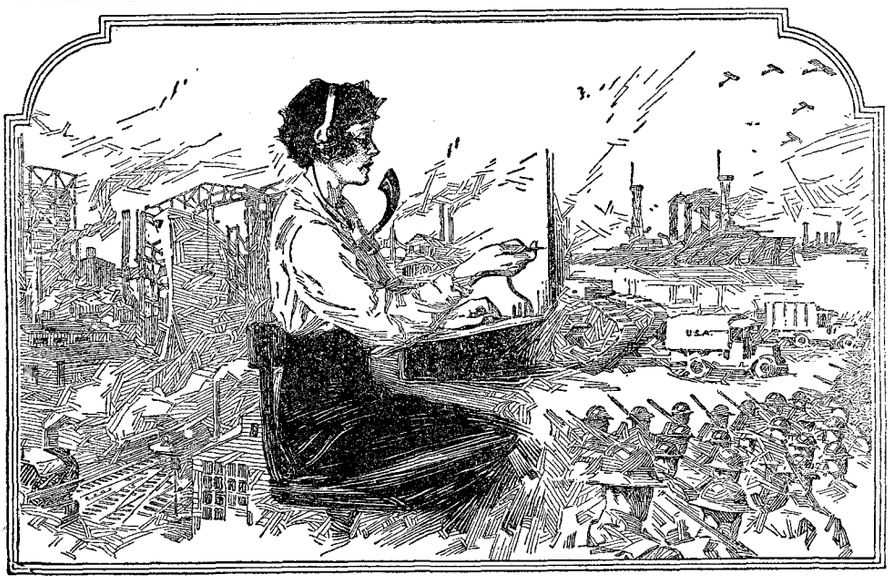

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The Nation

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The Nation

Vol. CVII NEW YORK, SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 16, 1918 No. 2785

The Week

IT was a noble spirited, well-phrased, and a restrained utterance which the President made to Congress in informing it of the end of war and of the drastic terms of the armistice—drastic enough to take the wind out of the sails of the unconditional-surrender shouters, howling for a march to Berlin. Mr. Wilson spoke with dignity and the best of taste, avoiding all undue boasting, giving full credit to the Allies, and voicing no bitterness or hatred toward the utterly beaten foe. Thereby he lived up to our best American traditions. His popularity will now be tremendously increased by reason of the public jubilation that the war is over and that we are out of it so well, with so much accomplished. Morover, the country, as it looks back upon the military achievement of the past year, and learns the details of what has been done, will be more and more gratified. The dark sides has to do with the illiberal forces in the Government, and, lately, its Russian policy. The bright side deals with the amazingly fine army raised so speedily and drilled so well and its magnificent achievements on the battle field; the equally amazing fact of the safe and successful transportation of two millions of men across seas in nineteen months and, finally, the extraordinary response of the American people themselves to the orders of the Fuel and Coal Administrators and to the appeals of the Treasury, the Red Cross and Allied organizations. In effectiveness and all but complete freedom from scandal the war affords proof beyond question that democracy can be efficient if it rouses itself to a given task with all its powers. The nation may well look back with pride upon the record of its sons abroad in the war which to date has crushed German militarism and may have far wider benefits to record.

NOW that real revolution is threatening or under way in Austria-Hungary and Germany, our conservatives have suddenly become alarmed at a process which is the inevitable result of the war we have been witnessing. Undoubtedly the most sinister feature of the armistice terms granted to Austria-Hungary is that giving to the Allies the right to conduct the government of any portions of the Dual Monarchy in which their troops find themselves. As they have also reserved the right to send troops anywhere they wish, they can obviously put down any revolutionary movement they see fit. This, of course, runs entirely counter to Mr. Wilson's principle of self-determination and his avowals that we are not in Europe to interfere in the domestic concerns of any country. Again, there are alarming rumors that the invasion of Russia will continue and that the first duty of the international police force of the league of nations will be to set up a "sane government" in Russia and also to enter China and restore order there. This is serious enough; but it is equally depressing to read in an influential newspaper like the New York *Evening Sun* statements like the following:

> Obviously it is not to the interest of the world at large that the reconstruction of the German state and the substitution of democratic rule for autocracy should be permitted to degenerate into a reign of terror or a régime of ruin. Whether the capacity to hold down the revolutionary wave to *sane limitations* will remain in the broken and discredited political leaders who are responsible for the war and the *débâcle* may be doubted. They may have to implore outside aid to prevent the supplementing of outside chastisement by domestic frenzy, resulting together in irreparable calamity. There may remain no choice to the Allies save to pacify the country and turn it over to a sobered and stable popular government inspired by the judgment of the citizens, not by the passions of a mob.

Nothing could be worse for Germany or civilization than any such course as is herein suggested.

THE ominous reports of the spread of revolution in Germany along Russian lines ought to give pause to the heedless ones like Mr. Taft who have so glibly talked not only of marching on Berlin, but of exacting enormous indemnities from the German people. Instead it makes them chatter of forcible intervention. Who shall foretell what Government will be in control in Germany three months hence? Who shall prophesy correctly what will be the conditions in Germany next week? When the army and navy begin to rebel, then is the time to look out, and there are millions of beaten soldiers shortly to return realizing that their terrible sufferings have been in vain, their losses without profit, and their leaders responsible for the utter defeat and humiliation of the Empire. Are they going to disperse quietly to their homes? Perhaps so; perhaps the famous German discipline is going to hold, but the news from Bremen, Hamburg and Kiel, as we get it, does not point that way. It may turn out that after all we owe to Trotzky and Lenine and their propaganda a large share of the credit of pulling the German Colossus to earth. In our minds the probability of extreme revolutionary movements has loomed large for months past—not only in Germany, but in Austria and Italy as well. The world is surely in for a cycle of extreme radicalism, brief or long, and any effort to check it by foreign forces is likely only to fan the flames. Germany is certainly ripe for anything. It must not be forgotten that her whole economic and financial structure is bound to come crashing to earth as soon as peace comes, quite aside from the revolution. Is it not likely that the hate and anger we have been feeling for Germany will soon change to sympathy and fear lest her revolution spread beyond her borders?

IN late September Count Tisza was negotiating with political leaders in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina to counteract Jugslav tendencies hostile to the interests of Hungary. The plan discussed was the union not only of Bosnia-Herzegovina, but of Dalmatia as well, to Croatia-Slavonia, the whole of this Greater Croatia to belong to the lands of the Hungarian crown as a *corpus separatum*. In the six weeks since then the veteran statesman, the incarnation of Magyar politics of the old régime, has fallen by the hand of an assassin, and Austria and Hungary alike are in a revolutionary ferment. Though it is impossible to

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get a clear picture it seems apparent that Croatia at least, with its Catholic population, is by no means a unit in favor of the plans of Trumbić and the other protagonists of a Jugoslavia finding its centre in Belgrade. A Zurich dispatch of October 27 reported a Croatian revolt in Fiume spreading thence throughout Croatia. According to a later report, a citizen's committee, formed on October 29, declared in favor of separation from Hungary and union with Italy. As a sequence, the Italians occupied Fiume and the neighboring country. Admiral Cagni was named Governor, and it was reported that there were no difficulties with the Croatian elements of the city, to whom the Italians were supplying needed food. There are reports that an independent Jugoslav Government has been set up in Croatia proper at Agram, with Josef Pogacnic, former Vice-President of the Austrian Lower House, as President, and that plans have been laid for a constituent assembly to prepare a constitution. Apparently at the same time a Slovenian Government was established at Laibach, not only the capital of the province of Carniola but, in an informal sense, the chief city of the Slovenians as a whole. Hungary is reported to have acquiesced in the dissolution of the previous constitutional relations with Fiume as well as with Croatia-Slavonia. A *Times* dispatch of November 7, however, states that the Croatian Diet has expressed "a desire to remain within Austria." This is hard to interpret, as Croatia's relation is with Hungary and only indirectly with Austria. Clearly, however, there is a lack of enthusiasm among the Catholic Croatians for a Jugoslavia that would be in effect a Greater Servia. Their defection, carrying with it probably that of the equally Catholic Slovenians, will, if it persists, tend to make the Jugoslav state quite strictly Servian in color.

IT looks as if the new Japanese Government had reversed the earlier policy of Japan toward China. We have previously alluded to the reported offer of intervention by Great Britain and the United States between the Chinese factions. Its failure was ascribed to Japan's unwillingness to join in the movement, but a Peking report of October 29 states that Japan herself has now invited the two Powers to join in advising both factions to accept mediation, even though the belligerency of South China has not been recognized. Furthermore, Japan's proposal is said to suggest that the Powers refuse further loans to China until peace is established. On its face, this is a vastly desirable change from the previous Japanese policy of lending to Peking, on terms ruinous to China's future, funds which were used without restriction to carry on a devastating civil war. As late as September 7 Peking dispatches announced several Japanese loans, all at eight per cent.: a railway loan, in return for which China agreed, among other things, to the establishment of Japanese administrative centres in Shantung and a Japanese monopoly of all mining in certain regions of Manchuria and Inner Mongolia; a military loan in return for which China was to extend the recent Military Convention and accept Japanese officers to drill the Chinese army; and a political loan, secured by the wine and beer tax. A loan of $50,000,000 was reported signed on October first to finance Chinese-Japanese steel-works in China. The general understanding was that as the building of railways is impossible under present conditions, the object of this contract was "to facilitate the release of certain funds by interested banks for the use of the militarists." The Chinese Chamber of Commerce at Shanghai has protested strongly against such borrowing and the Canton Parliament has twice advised all foreign Governments that it will repudiate such loans. It has also protested against the use of the customs and salt revenues by the Peking Government to pay for its attempts to subjugate the South.

SUCH an extraordinary outburst of popular emotion the United States surely never before witnessed as that which occurred in various cities on Thursday last on the receipt of the false report that Germany had surrendered. All New York city was like a college town immediately after the great football game of the year—only more so. So delirious a frenzy was never recorded in the metropolis, not even on the wildest of election nights. One saw staid elderly men embracing each other though total strangers. As for the other sex, women hitherto behaving with the utmost propriety threw themselves into the arms of men in uniform and hugged civilians as well; it seemed as if all the bonds of convention were suddenly loosened. The most amazing thing about it all was its absolute spontaneity; there was no preparation for it; everything was done on the spur of the moment and the most dignified of bankers joined in with the office boys. More than that, the crowd tore up the newspapers which exposed the fraud; and the day after, ship workers left their tasks to parade in New York despite the official denial. What did it mean? Something like this might have been expected in Paris or Berlin or London where the war has borne so heavily upon everyone. But why here? Was it merely the elation of the crowd? Was it relief that the loved ones abroad were safe? Or just the American joy at winning a great game? Or, in addition to all this, is it possible that the war was not so popular after all with the rank and file? We confess to being completely baffled in our effort to analyze something which in fervor, excitement and suddenness could surely never be surpassed. Unfortunately, there were some features to recall Mafeking Night in London, for in New York there was much intoxication and lawlessness connived at by the authorities.

IF there was not much in the election results as a whole to encourage liberals, there were some distinctly bright spots. The best feature of all was the defeat of Governor Whitman in New York, which was thoroughly merited. It makes for the welfare of the State, which thus preserves its historic policy of granting only two terms to a Governor, and it ends forever Mr. Whitman's ridiculous aspirations to the Presidency. Mr. Smith's success is a victory for one of the plain people who, despite his Tammany affiliations, has won the respect of all who have come into contact with him for his honesty and ability. An ardent Catholic, Mr. Smith has ended the tradition that a man of this faith cannot be elected Governor of New York. He will bring to the office exceptional administrative experience and exceptional knowledge of the composition and workings of the government. While we do not regard him as a reformer or look for great betterments, it is quite within the range of possibility that he will give the State the best administration it has had in years. We do not, of course, overlook his Tammany associations; the *Nation's* hostility to that "organized appetite for public plunder" is, if anything, stronger than ever. When it comes to crooked machines, however, Tammany can give no lessons to the up-State Republican organization; they are full brothers under the skin.

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IN Massachusetts the defeat of Senator John W. Weeks by ex-Governor David I. Walsh was quite unexpected. Mr. Walsh, too, is a Catholic and on that account met much opposition, though his faith did not prevent his twice being chosen Governor. Mr. Weeks is as typical a "big-business" Senator as sits in Washington. He, too, has had Presidential aspirations, and his headquarters in the Auditorium Hotel in Chicago, filled as they were with touching portraits of himself from the age of two years on, lent the one touch of humor to the last Republican National Convention. Quite of Lodge's point of view, he is without Lodge's ability or background, and his retirement can hardly be said to be a loss. Mr. Walsh is undoubtedly the abler man, but he has never won the complete confidence of conservative Boston. The poor Back Bay! What would it do if it were to lose Lodge? Even the election of a Coolidge as Governor in succession to Governor McCall—whose retirement from public life is really regrettable, for he was a Republican with with some vision of what our reconstituted society should look like—will hardly reconcile the Back Bay and State Street to the deliberate adoption by the voters at this election of the initiative and referendum.

THE results of the election are specially gratifying to the suffragists, in view of the keen disappointment occasioned by the Senate's refusal to pass the Federal Amendment. Michigan, which has twice refused women the vote, the last time by a heavy majority, has now swung into the suffrage column, and South Dakota and Oklahoma have likewise enfranchised their women. The outcome in Louisiana is scarcely less encouraging; for though suffrage lost, its opponents were able to muster only a beggarly majority of less than 2,000, and but one newspaper in the State opposed the reform. Considering the strength of the intrenched forces arrayed against suffrage in the Southern States, the result in Louisiana is really a victory for this measure of democratic justice, and gives promise of its complete and speedy triumph.

THE prohibitionists also will derive encouragement from the returns. Florida, Ohio, Wyoming, and Nevada voted for prohibition, making thirty-one States now in the dry list. Utah, which had previously banned liquor by statute, now incorporates prohibition into its constitution. Aside from these new victories, which do not constitute all the gains made last week, advocates of the Federal prohibition amendment have another reason for hopefulness. Out of the fourteen commonwealths which have already ratified that measure, no less than five are wet States—Massachusetts, Delaware, Maryland, Louisiana, and Kentucky. Assuming that most of the thirty-one prohibition States will ratify the Amendment, very few further accessions from the wet column will be necessary to make the total foot up to the required thirty-six. The movement has undoubtedly derived additional strength during the past year from the enthusiasm for food conservation occasioned by the war, and it remains to be seen whether the coming of peace will in any measure stay its progress.

THE Manufacturers' Export Association, recently in convention at New York, records the interesting conviction that the United States has reached a point where "wise policies of respect for the economic integrity of its associates in war must be harmonized with proper measures for the preservation and promotion of its economic welfare." Thus it proposes that when the emergency fleet is ready for commercial use it shall be released for private ownership and operation "upon suitable terms"; that the capital charges shall be written down to meet the cost of building the foreign-owned ships with which it must compete; and that further reduction in the capital charges shall be made "to offset the differences in labor and other operating costs created by the difference in navigation laws here and abroad." Then, further, when in this manner our merchant marine has been placed on "a proper operating basis," the Association registers its desire that "competition should be allowed and encouraged between private American ship operators." Finally, the Association resolves that the diplomatic and consular service shall be given adequate funds by Congress "for the promotion of work which it can and should perform in the economic programme of the country." It is pleasant to turn from such a programme to the address of James A. Farrell, president of the United States Steel Corporation, before the National Foreign Trade Council, taking strong ground against economic war after the war. Our business men ought to understand that the attempt to use the agencies of government for exclusive and selfish ends is a sure way to bring about a new war at no distant date.

IT will be interesting to see what kind of a report is made by the British educational mission which is now touring the United States. The various members of the mission occupy distinguished positions in English colleges and universities, and are presumably familiar with the educational problems, especially such as have to do particularly with higher education, which press for solution in England. Whether or not they will be able to further the future cooperation between American and English universities which is, apparently, the main purpose of their visit, will depend upon their success in penetrating the shell of our educational performance and getting at the kernel of our achievements and shortcomings. The mission is making a sort of grand tour of university America. It will visit the leading institutions and some of those of second rank; be welcomed by presidents, deans, and heads of governing boards; lunched, dined, and "received" to the limit of physical endurance, and loaded down with catalogues and other printed information about the "plant" and the teaching "force." It will find most of the institutions which it visits in charge of army officers, and going through a prescribed curriculum in which lessons and drill are carefully combined. It will find the study of German either in great disfavor or actually under the ban, and many teachers of the classics transferred to other more "practical" subjects. What we hope it will also take note of, and insist upon inquiring into, is the autocracy of university presidents and the relative impotence of faculties, the scandalous inequality and insufficiency of salaries, the persistent discrimination between men and women in co-educational institutions, the egregious disparity in material equipment, between scientific departments and departments such as languages or history, and the widespread and insidious impairment of intellectual freedom. A judicial statement of the facts in the case by a competent British mission would perhaps make the American public realize more fully why university teaching in this country is not yet an entirely satisfactory career.

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Peace at Last

A HUMILIATING armistice signed on the enemy's terms, the Kaiser fallen, the throne lost to the Hohenzollern, Germany crashing to pieces in violent revolution—thus ends the war which has convulsed the world. The mills of the gods have ground exceeding small, albeit at terrible cost, and all too slowly since the pistol shot at Sarajevo which destroyed empires, created new nations and began what may prove to be the overturning of our whole social and economic systems. Never could it more truthfully be said of anyone than of the Kaiser to-day that he that taketh the sword shall perish by the sword—and this whether he is to come now to a violent end or to spend the remainder of his days in contemplation of the wreck that is his doing. No more fearful moral guilt ever rested on any one. The man who proclaimed that he was vice-gerent of God, and that he held his authority direct from the Almighty, has learned not only that might does not make right, but that there can be no partnership with the Almighty unless the aim be unselfishly to benefit and uplift mankind. From the moment of the invasion of Belgium, for those who have trust in the eternal verities, who know that the world does move forward, who still have faith in the divine possibilities of mankind, what is happening in Germany is merely what was as certain to take place as the world was bound to turn in its orbit. From that moment the Kaiser was doomed, whether he won on the battlefield or not; the only question was whether he was to fall through the legions of the Allies or through the acts of his own subjects.

And it is primarily through the acts of his subjects that he has fallen. The German Michel, long caricatured as the dullest of peasants, has decided that he has had enough. The infectious example of Russia, close at hand, told. So we see the almost incredible spectacle of the Kaiser unhorsed not by fiat of the Allies, but by the most despised of his political parties, the Socialists, and a regency proclaimed—with what kind of a head? Some prince, some King of Saxony or of Württemberg? Not at all; with Friederich Ebert acting as Chancellor—Ebert who was for years a common harnessmaker, who never had other than a common-school education, who has not even a *von* to his name! What could be more spectacular, what more dramatic and thrilling, than the Kaiser's abdicating to make way for a man from the ranks of manual labor, a Socialist agitator at that? Nothing could more clearly illumine the horizon of the future, nothing else could possibly be as significant of the overturn to come. There will be those to see in this passing of power from the rich and privileged only evil; who will interpret it as the ending of a golden age and the beginning of the end of civilization. For ourselves it spells a new and most hopeful human era.

For if the mills of the gods have caught and crushed the Hohenzollerns and Hapsburgs and the Kings of Bavaria and Bulgaria and what not, they have still much crushing to do. Every remaining king, whether well-meaning figure-head or despot, should and must go. But these are now few in number. Then, we agree with the German Socialists that no man who had anything to do with starting this war should remain in public life. In Russia, in Austria-Hungary, and in Turkey they are gone. We hope and trust that the spirit of revolution abroad will not die until all the makers of secret treaties are cast out, and with them, as among the worst enemies of mankind, the armament-manufacturers, the Krupps, the Creusots, the Armstrongs, the Whitworths, and our own lesser armor and gun-makers. We desire no end to revolution abroad until customs-houses everywhere have gone by the board. We wish no end to democratic ferment in Europe until the professional diplomat of the past has been ground flat, and with him those alleged statesmen who believe that the backward or sparsely-inhabited spaces of the earth exist only to be exploited. We wish no end to the revolution until there shall no longer be talk of developing hinterländer, spheres of influence, and colonies, but of some means of holding them in trust by joint international agreement for the benefit of those to whom the soil rightfully belongs. Thus we would have England retire from Egypt and Persia, the Italians from Tripoli, and Japan from Kiao-Chou, France from Cochin-China and Madagascar, and Belgium from the blood-stained Congo, while the United States sets the example by retiring from the Philippines, Haiti, San Domingo, and Nicaragua. We wish no limit to the spread of liberalism until the vicious doctrine that a country shall protect by the force of arms its citizens who invest abroad shall be forever discarded. For we are not of those who can see the mote only in the eye of our Allies or enemies. There are those in plenty—men like Taft and Roosevelt, preachers of reaction and hate—in this country for whom the mills of the gods are turning slowly—slowly, but with the terrifying, inescapable certainty which marks the progress of the glacier that no human agency can stay.

For the Kaiser is but the vilest flower of a system, and it is the system and the spirit which underlie it that must go. The battle against Prussian militarism is not yet won. Its first bloody phase is, thank God, at an end. But if this war has proved anything, it is that the spirit of Prussianism exists everywhere, in Paris, in London, in Rome—very strongly—and in Washington. Only in Moscow is it wholly crushed to earth. We shall neither have made this the last of wars nor safeguarded democracy, if we do not extirpate everywhere the spirit that would not only conquer other people's lands as Germany conquered Belgium and Servia, and Italy conquered Tripoli, but would enslave their souls and bodies as well. As long as it is left to a few men anywhere to decide whether nations shall go to war, as long as there are men abroad like Mr. Taft to say that just when we have crushed German militarism we must war against the Russians and Germans to see to it that the revolutions there result in precisely the kind of Governments that we prefer, just so long is the war to end war merely begun.

To-day, however, everybody must rejoice without stint that the last of the German Kaisers has gone. We are witnessing the greatest, the swiftest, the most dramatic tragedy the world has ever beheld. When one thinks of all the great things that Germany has accomplished for the world, its contributions to art, literature, music, and science, when one thinks of what Germany might have done for the world, but for her false leaders, one feels like echoing Capt. Philip at Santiago: "Don't cheer, boys, the poor devils are dying." Under our very eyes is dying the greatest of modern empires, in some respects the greatest nation of our times. May it be the last of the empires! And out of its bitter anguish and travail may there arise in the future, without foreign interference, a new, an honest, and a glorious democratic State to help point the way toward the goal of all mankind, liberty, fraternity, equality!

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Choose Ye This Day

FOR the political disaster which overtook his party on Election Day Mr. Wilson has only himself to blame. Deep chagrin and humiliation should be his, for the blow to liberalism is grave indeed. Mr. Wilson himself, in that unfortunately worded appeal which would have done even more mischief had it been published earlier, stated clearly what defeat would mean. "The return of a Republican majority to either House of the Congress would, moreover, be interpreted on the other side of the water as a repudiation of my leadership. The peoples of the Allied countries . . . would find it very difficult to believe that the voters of the United States had chosen to support their President by electing to the Congress a majority controlled by those who are not in fact in sympathy with the attitude and action of the Administration." But even this portrays only one aspect of the situation. The war is over, it is true, but the most serious and most important part of our great venture lies before us. If the peace negotiations are prolonged until next spring, it will then be within the power of the Republicans to block any treaty which does not conform to their reactionary views. Let it but squint at free trade and we know what Mr. Lodge will do. Let it look toward a liberal settlement and the Republican party, cheated of that triumphant march to Berlin which Messrs. Taft, Lodge, and Roosevelt have declared essential to American purposes, will be in full cry at once. The electorate has, indeed, rebuked Mr. Wilson and doubtless for many reasons, but it has leaped directly into the fire. For the lack of a truly liberal and progressive party as an alternative the pendulum has swung back to reaction.

Mr. Wilson, for once deserted by his political acumen, will therefore find himself after March 4 next face to face with the most difficult situation a President can confront: a hostile Congress will be upon his hands. For six long years he has imposed his will upon his party and upon Congress as no President has ever imposed it before. The Congressional cloak-rooms might murmur and rebel as they pleased, but, prior to the war they were powerless before his prestige, his political skill, and his superior ability—superior to any that they could muster; since the war began he has had as great powers as those of which the Kaiser is now being divested of if not greater. By a single word, as in the case of some of the "wilful twelve," it was in his power to wreck a Senator's or a Congressman's career. Into this situation his intolerance of others' viewpoints, his habitual insistence upon his own will, his custom of working out policies or taking momentous decisions alone in his closet, has fitted well. How will it be when he finds himself compelled to deal with political foes, freed by peace to say what they please, eager to block him at every turn, ready to criticise when party fealty would have held party associates in line, and determined to make capital out of every issue? We need only to turn back to Mr. Cleveland's régime to see how difficult the problem, how great the need for an Executive thus placed to prove his patience, his forbearance, his statesmanship. It is hard to think of Mr. Wilson in such a rôle even in ordinary peace-times. It becomes almost impossible thus to think of him in the period of peace and reorganization and revolution abroad.

The very defects of his qualities return to-day to plague him. It has never been possible for him to create a genuine personal following, to arouse men to enthusiasm and keep them at the high-water mark of their readiness to serve, or to create a nucleus of future leadership. He has been indifferent, for all his fine phrases about the rebirth of his party and the New Freedom, to what would happen to the liberal movement after he retired from leadership. It is as if he had said: "After me the deluge," and washed his hands of the future. Now another day has come; the public for the moment has turned from him, and just at the moment when he was, in the order of events, at the parting of the ways in matters international. To-day he must more than ever choose between liberalism and reaction; upon him more than ever rests the question whether we shall get a liberal peace, or whether we shall come out of the war with a new, and equally futile, Holy Alliance instead of a real league of nations; whether the assertion that this has been a war to end war and to extend democracy shall prove the most utter hypocrisy, or whether there shall be a real advance toward ridding the world of its greatest evil.

Why do we doubt where Mr. Wilson will stand? Only because he has seemed of late so infirm of purpose. To the inexcusable, blundering invasion of Russia he yielded; one by one in response to foreign pressure he yields on his fourteen peace terms, last week in the matter of punitive damages and the freedom of the seas. Now he must realize that what he accomplishes during the next few months will definitely fix his place in history. Is he to rank merely as the maker of skilful and beautiful phrases, as the enunciator of a wonderful platform of principles for a new world, only to retreat from them whenever European and American imperialists exerted pressure? Fortune has been extremely kind to him; the suddenness of the German collapse has freed him from the necessity of a stand-up fight with our domestic bitter-enders; the premature report of the armistice came to make people forget the election.

But if it is true, as men say, that there never has been the time since Mr. Wilson left Princeton when he would put his back to the wall and say: "Here I stand. I cannot do otherwise. God help me. Amen!" the time is at hand now for Mr. Wilson to decide whether he will write his name large in history or go down to posterity as a casuist, a compromiser, a man without unyielding principle. We do not see how he can avoid the issue any longer; he must fight the imperialists here and abroad or yield to them and sink to the level of a Roosevelt or a Taft. Mr. Cleveland had none of the charm, none of the literary skill, none of the polish or mental dexterity of Mr. Wilson. But men honor him today because he was forthright, rugged and at times absolutely uncompromising. The ruggedness of his obstinate determination to stick to certain principles at any cost brought him back a victor after one defeat; it has made him bulk larger as time passes. Mr. Wilson once taunted the pacifists by saying he had contempt for them because they did not know how to get what they wanted and he knew what he wanted and how to get it. It was a false taunt; but it may soon be thrown back at him by others besides pacifists if he does not show to the world first that he knows what he wants now, and second that knowing it he will stick to it and insist on having it at any cost; that he will go down to complete defeat rather than yield another inch. For it is by such readiness to court apparent disaster that men rise to great heights. Mr. Wilson must choose now; else will he be an easy prey to Republican obstructionists and to European jingoes and tories.

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Is it True?

WE are confident that the American people have all along wished to see nothing less than full and generous justice done to Russia, no matter how great the disorder which for the time-being has prevailed there or how novel the form of Government which the Soviet régime has set up. It has been for months increasingly difficult, however, to comment intelligently upon Russian affairs, not only because of the lack of authoritative information regarding the events, but also because of persistent rumors and allegations, apparently traceable to responsible sources, which tend to throw grave doubt upon one or another aspect of the situation. The Russian news published by even the best American papers has been, from the beginning of the revolution, of the most meagre description; it has not at any time compared favorably in either content or scope with the news regularly published by the English press and even by the British Government; and for the past three or four weeks there has been scarcely any important news at all.

The difficulty, serious enough under the most favorable conditions, of ascertaining exactly what is going on in Russia has been increased rather than diminished by the publication sometime ago, by the Committee on Public Information, of an extraordinary series of documents purporting to show that Lenine and Trotzky were the paid agents of Germany. We must reserve for another time the more particular discussion of these documents, however, merely pointing out now that some of the documents, previously printed abroad, were already believed to be forgeries; that a number of others carry the presumption of fraud upon their face; that the circumstances under which the documents appear to have been obtained are alone sufficient to cast grave doubt upon their genuineness; and that no scholar whose judgment as to what is or is not a genuine historical document would be valued by the scientific world has, until the other day, been willing to vouch for their authenticity. What we are concerned with now are certain reports and charges, widely circulated and not denied, which reflect upon the course of the Department of State, and through it upon the Administration as a whole, in relation to Russian affairs. We think it is time that these charges should be either refuted or admitted, and that the American public should know where its Government stands in the supremely important and critical matter of our relations with Russia. We should have thought it improper to give currency to these charges in the *Nation* without first submitting the more important of them to the Secretary of State and inviting a reply; but having done that, and received from Mr. Lansing in response the statement that it was not considered "compatible with the public interest" to discuss or comment upon the questions which were asked, and which, as he rightly added, "savor distinctly of controversy," the further discussion of the issues involved may, we think, properly takes place publicly. We ask the questions in our columns with the greater confidence because of Mr. Wilson's attitude in regard to secret diplomacy and his warm expressions of interest in the welfare of the Russian people.

Is it true that the Administration knew, at the time of the Brest-Litovsk negotiations, that the Soviet Government, represented by Lenine and Trotzky, was opposed to the projected treaty, and looked forward to signing it only because of the physical impossibility of resisting the German demands unless the Allies, or some of them, came to its aid?

It is true that Lenine and Trotzky, a week or more previous to the signing of the treaty, handed to Raymond Robins, at that time a representative in Russia of the American Red Cross, a communication to President Wilson declaring their opposition to the treaty, and stating that they would refuse to sign it if the United States would assure them of its moral support in breaking off the negotiations and would send to Russia food and arms?

Is it true that at least two copies of the communication were at once cabled to Washington, one of them to the Department of State, through diplomatic officials of the United States in Russia?

Is it true that the communication was duly received by the Department of State and came under the eye of Secretary Lansing?

Is it true that the communication was not laid before Mr. Wilson at the time, but that Mr. Wilson was ignorant of its existence until after his decision to intervene in Russia had been arrived at and announced?

Is it true that Mr. Robins, who is alleged to have been instrumental in securing the communication from Lenine and Trotzky and in having it cabled to this country through diplomatic channels, spent several weeks in Washington upon his return vainly trying to secure an audience with Mr. Wilson; and that in the meantime he was given to understand by the American Red Cross and the Department of State that he was not to make any public statement on the subject?

Is it true that the former Russian Ambassador, Mr. Bakhmeteff, although no longer the legal diplomatic representative of any existing Government in Russia, nevertheless continues to be recognized officially by the Department of State as Russian Ambassador; that Russian citizens now in this country, having business with the Government, have been informed in writing by the Department of State that their communications must be transmitted through Mr. Bakhmeteff as Russian Ambassador; and that Russian citizens in this country who desired exemption from the draft have been required to have their applications approved by him?

Is it true that the locomotives, cars, and other railway material purchased or contracted for on account of the Russian Government by Professor George V. Lomonossoff, and legally in his custody at the time when he was removed from office as head of the Russian railway mission by Mr. Bakhmeteff and his papers seized by agents of the Department of Justice, have in part been sold, with the knowledge of the Government, and the proceeds applied to the payment of interest on Russian bonds or for other alleged public purposes, and in part used in aid of Allied military operations in France or elsewhere?

Is it true that a considerable sum of money, variously reported at from $25,000,000 upwards, originally advanced by the United States in aid of the Kerensky Government, was actually used by Kerensky, with the knowledge of the Department of State, in the suppression of a popular rising in Finland?

Is it true that the Russian Information Bureau at New York, organized under the direction and conducted with the approval of Mr. Bakhmeteff, is carried on, in whole or in part, by the aid of funds originally provided by the United States in the form of loans or credits to Russia for other

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purposes, and now held or administered, directly or indirectly, by Mr. Bakhmeteff as Russian Ambassador; or by the aid of funds derived from the sale of railway or other property originally belonging to the Russian Government and now held or administered, with the approval of the Government of the United States, by Mr. Bakhmeteff as Russian Ambassador?

Is it true that the Russian Information Bureau was for months actively engaged in working up sentiment in all parts of the United States in favor of intervention in Russia, and that its operations in this direction were conducted with the knowledge or approval of the Department of State or of Mr. Wilson himself?

Is it true that Mr. Bakhmeteff, acting as Russian Ambassador, is at this time carrying on in the United States, through the Russian Information Bureau, or paid lecturers, or other means, a systematic propaganda designed to discredit the Soviet Government and to encourage public sentiment in favor of the continuance of intervention in Russia, and that what is being done in this direction is known to the Department of State or to Mr. Wilson?

These are some of the questions which, as it seems to us, the "public interest" requires should be publicly asked and as publicly answered. The opinion is widespread, at Washington and elsewhere, that our relations with Russia, which have certainly been very far from open and above-board, have also been in a number of important respects far from creditable; and that we have been led into courses, in our treatment of that distracted country, which are not only involving us in constantly deepening trouble, but from which we might have been saved had all the facts been known. It is time that the circulation of rumors which involve the honorable conduct of American diplomatic business were checked by a frank telling of the truth. We hope that Mr. Wilson, however much he may have been misled in the past, will take the public into his confidence now and tell the whole story of American relations with Russia, Kerensky, and the Bolsheviki.

Multatuli

IN times of political revolution like the present it is well to remember the men who have wrought quietly in the study the changes of thought in the life of the peoples. A century ago Holland was dead. The old Republic of the United Seven Netherlands, that curious counting-house, defended by a navy, which for more than two hundred years had ruled the seas, had gone the way of all similar states. Her merchants had turned into a spurious aristocracy, her poorer classes were debauched by alms; patriotism was a matter of national and private interest; the mighty commonwealth had become the happy plundering ground of Dumouriez's wild Bolsheviki. When freedom came in the year 1815 nothing was left of the old Republic but its geographical position and the memory of a great past. The spiritual part of Holland was dead. What was infinitely worse, it refused to be rekindled to life.

Five years after the battle of Waterloo, on one of the stagnant canals of the town of Amsterdam, Eduard Douwes Dekker was born—a curious child with a will of his own, miserably unhappy amid the respectable dignity of his middle-class family, and later a rebellious boy, stifled by the air of the business office in which he was expected to make his career. Finally, through the influence of his father, who was a ship's captain and had seen something of the world, employment was found in the colonies and young Douwes Dekker began a new life as an official of the Inland Revenue Service on the island of Java. It was a period of physical reconstruction in the Netherlands East Indies. The long and bloody war of independence started by the Javanese had at last been suppressed. Douwes Dekker helped clear up the ruins. From 1838 until 1857 he was a servant of the Dutch state. He passed through all the ranks and became thoroughly familiar with the antiquated and objectionable colonial system which accepted the brown man as a part of the divine world-order, created for the purpose of serving his great white brother. Douwes Dekker clearly perceived the chaos that must be the ultimate result of such a system. At first he spoke about it privately and was publicly asked to hold his tongue. Then he began to protest in the few newspapers of Java. He was threatened with dismissal. He resigned, took a boat for Holland, and sat down to write a book. The book was published in the year 1860. It was a literary bomb which wrecked the old colonial system beyond repair. It had been written in the form of a novel, pretending to recite the adventures of one "Max Havelaar." In reality it was an autobiography. It appeared under the pseudonym of "Multatuli," "the man who had borne much." It proved to be the "Uncle Tom's Cabin" of the Netherlands East Indies.

Douwes Dekker was at once decried as an irresponsible revolutionist, a traitor to his own race and its most intimate interests. His personal character and integrity were attacked, not because he had exaggerated conditions or misstated his facts, but because the Dutch people resented the abrupt and blunt language which had so rudely upset the happy ease of their self-sufficient little world. When Multatuli transferred his attacks from the Far Eastern field to the homeland and showed up the hyprocisy of his respectable fellow-citizens, the combined hate of his countrymen drove him into exile. He went to live in Wiesbaden and continued his work of constructive demolition. In seven volumes he laid down his "Ideas." He preached his philosophy of life, and proclaimed his opinions of the state, of official religion, official morality, and private hankering after greed. He bade defiance to the great God of things as they are, and his name became anathema to a world still dominated by the ideals of the Holy Alliance.

The first true support came from abroad. Europe suddenly took notice. Verily, here was a new and engaging voice crying in the wilderness of man's misery—a faint but clear echo of Victor Hugo's great and righteous anger. The old generation of Hollanders dared not raise its voice against this approbation. The younger men and women took new courage, but Multatuli did not live to see it. In February of the year 1887 he died in a little village on the Rhine. His work was done. Within half a century the colonies grew from a profitable inheritance into a conscientious guardianship, while the old despotic ruler of the pre-revolutionary colonial days became the trusted administrator of our new era. And a new generation of Hollanders learned to be grateful to this solitary man who had ventured forth single handed to attack with no weapon but his pen the forces of reaction intrenched behind these seemingly impregnable defences in counting house and state.

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The Peace and After

By the BISHOP OF OXFORD

WE hail the coming of peace with a profound joy. But the joy is strangely mixed with anxiety. It is a lesson of history that the periods immediately after great wars have been periods in which national ideals have fared badly. Our minds go back to the victory over Napoleon, but the period after Waterloo was a period in English history in which the seeds of terrible evils were sown. The fact is that war has a unique power of evoking sacrifice and the spirit of brotherhood and the enthusiasm of common action; and when the war is over the victorious nation has been apt to slip back into lethargy. It is hard to say why it should be as difficult as it is to maintain the spirit of sacrifice and service in the cause of peace, but history warns us that it is so. Therefore, no one can contemplate the period after the war without a feeling of great anxiety. We in England are war weary. There is a grave danger that after the tension of the past four and a half years we should think the moment has come to relax effort; but on the contrary, if we are to realize the moral aims for which we claim to have been fighting, we want all, and more than all, the spirit of sacrifice and common service which we have needed during the war.

For instance, we have maintained that this is a war to end war; a war for peace. Can we conceive any disaster so great as that, after defeating Germany, a peace should be made upon the old lines, leaving each nation after a period of exhaustion to build up armaments again, the one against the other and to use all the resources of science to perfect the implements of destruction, while the nations are eyeing one another with mutual suspicion, until another war breaks out?

Mr. Asquith is not a wild idealist. He speaks the words of soberness, and I do not think he was exaggerating when recently he said that such a result would imperil the very existence of our civilization. Our statesmen and your statesmen, of all parties in politics, have propounded one preventative of this disaster, the formation of a league of free nations, to maintain and enforce peace. But it requires a great effort to realize this league. It is one thing to talk about it, or to imagine it, as a dream of the future; it is another thing to embody it in the terms of the peace which is in prospect, and we need to stir ourselves to a great effort to make the nations understand what is at stake, and gird themselves to the effort of accepting this principle of international and supernational control. It means a step forward in human evolution; it means the recognition that as the State must be supreme over the individual, so the State, or nation, must recognize the supremacy of an organization wider than itself and capable of controlling the ambitions of any single insolent and factious member.

All the detailed provisions of the league of nations involve the same principle—not that national sovereignty, in a reasonable sense, is to be interfered with, but that national sovereignty where it threatens the common peace shall be under the control of a supernational authority. In particular, the realization of the league of nations will involve the principle of the limitation of armaments, and will put an end to the necessity of each nation training all its members for war. I dread to hear it proposed in this country to make permanent provision for universal military service. I know that the motives of those who desire to see this may be good. They see the advantage for the youth of military service. It teaches discipline. But it seems to me quite impossible that you can go so far in turning all nations into armed camps without developing and maintaining the military spirit in all nations, which is sure to break out in wars. What we must think out is some method of training the youth for peaceful service; some training for service which shall discipline their characters for the functions of citizens, and not of soldiers. But militarism has a great fascination, and it is not too much to say that the privileged classes look upon the discipline of the army as the surest method of quelling the rising powers of democracy.

I imagine that one motive that makes people hostile to the idea of the league of nations is the necessity of admitting those who are at present our enemies. Now I am one of those who believe that it was necessary for Germany to suffer defeat. Only so could the military government of Germany suffer public discredit in the eyes of other nations, and in the eyes of its own people. But I have the profoundest hope that the soul of Germany will learn to understand, under the humiliation of recognized defeat, that it has been utterly misled and obsessed by a false idea; that it has surrendered itself to the wrong teachers; and that the old spirit of Germany, the spirit of Goethe and of Schiller, will have a chance to resume its place in their hearts. And there is no real hope of peace in Europe so long as the millions of Germans are left to feel that they have no prospect of realizing their national vocation. They have got to do penance, to make reparation, to accept defeat. But the future of Europe demands that when this has been done every German should understand that if they will accept the ideals of national fellowship they will have a free chance to enter again into the commonwealth of nations. In a word, I see no hope for the maintenance of our civilization except on the basis of the League of Free Nations which has been so effectively proclaimed in England by Lord Gray of Falloden, and Mr. Asquith and Mr. Balfour; the idea of which the President has become the prophet.

But of course this is not all that has to be done. Our soldiers are coming back from the war, inspired as I believe with the determination to make a better nation, and the demand for fundamental social reconstruction has been embodied by the British Labor party in a great programme, which commands, I think, wide allegiance, far beyond the limits of the Labor party. But the realizing of social reconstruction demands the interest of a whole nation, and makes at least as great a claim as war could make for service and fellowship and sacrifice.

I think often of James Russell Lowell's magnificent invocation to peace:

> Come, while the nation feels the lift,
> Of a great impulse shouting forwards.

And I would call upon every Englishman and every American who has a heart to feel, or a brain to think, to see to it that the ending of the war shall bring no relaxation of the efforts to realize the ideals for which we claim to have been fighting.

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Andrew Dickson White

By GEORGE LINCOLN BURR

ON the morning of Monday, November 4, at his home on the campus of Cornell University, Andrew Dickson White passed peacefully away on the eve of his eighty-sixth birthday. It is now three and thirty years—what we used to call a full generation of human life—since he laid down the presidency of Cornell; and those years have been filled with eminent public service of many sorts. Yet it is as "President White" that we shall remember him. It was his own wish. When during his presidency he was called to be our Minister at Berlin he protested with tears in his eyes to his intimate friends against the misunderstanding that his ambitions were political; and in the fascinating autobiography in which he has himself told the story of his career he has shown how from boyhood to old age the university was central in his thought. He dreamed of it when a rebellious freshman at Hobart. It took shape around the Oxford and Cambridge pictures of Huber. At Yale it grew through admiration and protest. Abroad he learned how much the American university had still to achieve. As a professor at the young University of Michigan he had actual part in the creation of one such as he might hope for his native state. At the opening of Cornell his friend George William Curtis related how at Ann Arbor years before young White had dreamed to him his dreams.

How, when Mr. White had become a State Senator of New York, the old Quaker, Ezra Cornell, was won to his plan, and how the two carried the project into execution, is a familiar tale. Mr. Cornell insisted on Ithaca as its site. Mr. White wished it at Syracuse; and, had he had his way, his university would have been saved a rival, and Mr. Cornell would not have sunk his fortune in the railways that were to make it accessible. But to the beauties of the Ithaca site he was not blind, and it was the joy of his life to crown with art what nature had made so lovely. Art, however, had long to wait. Pioneer work came first, and years of poverty. President White's personal fortune, happily, was ample, and his home was an oasis. He shared the rugged convictions of Mr. Cornell as to equality of race and sex, and seconded earnestly, though never with quite the insight of one who had known struggle, the plans of his rugged fellow-worker for the aid of those who must work their way. Even more perhaps than Mr. Cornell he hated intolerance, and rejoiced to pledge that in the new university "no professor, officer, or student shall ever be accepted or rejected on account of any religious or political views which he may or may not hold"—words to be pondered in this day of patriotic bigotry. It was President White, too, whose democracy placed scientific and technical courses on the same level with the humanities and insisted on large freedom of election for the student, though he always urged a choice between carefully framed courses of study rather than a miscellaneous liberty. To infer from his advocacy of election any dislike of the classic would be a sad mistake. He prized highly his own classical culture and always urged to that study those whom he could persuade to undertake it with zest. It was only that he recognized difference of taste and aptitude, and would have no mere mechanical drudgery. "The best physical discipline," he had said in his first magazine article, ten years before Cornell was opened, "comes not by drudgery; men wear out by that. Robustness and lasting strength come only by work with a will." "Any study in which a man becomes fully interested is likely to become a good discipline. No study in which he is not interested can be truly so." It was for much the same reason that he would tolerate none but earnest students, and had no use for the "discipline" that keeps unearnest men at work. "This is no nursery," he used to say to the defenders of scapegraces. Daily marking he abhorred. Equally characteristic was his emphasis on the worth of studies that give breadth of mind as well as those that make for depth or keenness. To this end he would have literature and history taught in such fashion as should make them a part of the course of every student.

He insisted, too, that the undergraduate should from the first be stimulated by touch with trained and mature minds devoted to the subject in hand. He would have no tutors. In addition to his presidency he took the chair of modern history; and, no matter how busy with administration, he always met his classes when in town. No lectures in the curriculum were so inspiring as his or so companionable—warm from the heart of his love for humanity and broken by extempore illustration from the wide range of his personal experience. Though that experience had made him familiar with legislatures and courts, and brought him the acquaintance of many leaders of public affairs, he grew less and less interested in the story of politics, diplomacy and war, and more in that of the history of civilization. By that term he meant no fatalism, economic or other, but those great lines of human effort which have made the world better—for in human progress, not only possible but actual, he was a profound believer, and he believed that history should spur men on. In part it was precisely his political experience that moved him. When Dean Ernest Huffcut, whom he dearly loved, sought death by his own hand while acting as the Governor's counsel during the Hooker episode, Mr. White's first exclamation was that in that slough of graft and greed it was no wonder disgust of life should overpower an honest man.

Yet with him harsh judgments were exceeding rare. Those who found in his "History of the Warfare of Science with Theology in Christendom" hostility to religion were wide of the mark. Deeply reverent as he was, warmly attached to the worship and to the clergy of the church in which he had been reared, and holding in high respect religious teachers everywhere, it was only the intolerance which had found excuse in religion, not religion itself, that stirred his protest. Few men have been from choice such tireless attendants at religious worship or such appreciative listeners to preaching. The remarkable series of sermons at the university chapel of Cornell was planned and carried out by him, and he could never understand how any student could neglect an opportunity which he himself would gladly have trudged miles to enjoy. The lectures in his "Seven Great Statesmen" had their spring in the same sympathy with helpful effort, the same deep faith in progress, the self-evidencing of truth. They are a torso. He had hoped to parallel his "Warfare of Science" with as full a study of the great steps in the conflict with inhumanity and prejudice.

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Mr. White's championship of the natural sciences was the more remarkable because of his own slight schooling in them. He used to tell against himself with gusto how he had offered a specimen of the interesting plant *Hamamelis Virginica* from the Berlin botanical garden to the Cornell professor of botany, and how he later learned that his own back-yard at home was full of it. But this breadth of interest was of a piece with all his openness of mind. Perhaps the deepest secret of his tolerance was his strange union of liberal sympathies with conservative instincts. Thus, though no man could well be less sabbatarian in theory, he was one of the strictest observers of Sunday rest and reverence. On that day he would never travel. Men at the most opposite poles of thought he found alike intelligible and lovable. As he himself was fond of saying, "The man I don't like is the man I don't know."

In college sports he took an interest, but only as a sane and healthful form of exercise. At football, however, he drew the line. It seemed to him so brutal as to be detestable. For himself he had no need of games of any sort. His recreation was reading and travel. Books he could never deny himself. They surrounded him everywhere, and the number he somehow found time to devour was a continual marvel. In these, too, his taste was omnivorous, but biography had perhaps for him most attraction. For poetry he cared little. The lofty rhythm of the psalms had had for him a charm since boyhood, and sonorous chants like those of Ossian might impress; but his reading was prose. When tired he took a walk, his eyes alert for everything as on a journey. Landscape interested him only as a setting. What men were doing, and, above all, the products of the arts—these were his joy. For architecture he had a passion. It was his poetry. He revelled in it when travelling, and at home no reverse but seemed made good if some building could be added or adorned. His colleagues sometimes trembled at the thought of what concession might be wheedled from him by the gift of a beautiful building. But throughout the years that love of art fruited in beauty, and for all that Cornell had of dignity or grace the debt to him is greatest. Not less deep was his love for music. It was perhaps the organ, of which from youth he was himself a player, that moved him most. He took a personal interest in the bettered equipment and the enlarged opportunities for both the study and the enjoyment of music that came with the growing wealth of Cornell; and in the closing years of his life two great organs, one of them given him for the university on his eightieth birthday by his friend Mr. Carnegie, rejoiced his heart.

But the perennial solace of Mr. White's life was his love of society. He was always happy among his friends; and when the cares of university administration became unbearable (it was the larger planning that was his forte, the minutiae bored and wearied him), his antidote was to pack his bag and hie somewhither to new scenes and faces. This was his rest; and more than once when breakdown had seemed imminent it had restored him. His interest in new people was unflagging, especially in those busied with the great tasks of the world. His acquaintance the world over was enormous. A charming *raconteur*, his memory for good stories was not more vivid than that for his own experiences and the people he had met. Doubtless for both, the careful diary he always kept served a good purpose. But while thus absent his thoughts were not wholly truant from the affairs at home; and the bulk of his letters of advice to those left as his deputies suggests that often his changed environment was even more fruitful to home affairs than was his presence.

Never in the most robust of health, a careful regimen made possible for him an amount of work that would have staggered many a stronger man; and in his later years, when the strain was less, his good days were more constant. Only last year did he abandon his long walks, and even in the growing feebleness of these last months his mind retained its clearness. So lately as a week before his death he was able to preside at his own table in a dinner to Lord Charnwood, then lecturing at Cornell.

The great war had sadly troubled him. He was no pacifist in the sense usually given to that word. From the foundation of Cornell he had vigorously supported the military training of her students, and it was a source of pride to him that both his grandsons, profiting by that training, were now at the fighting front. But no man more earnestly than he had labored, at home and abroad, in Berlin and at the Hague, to fend off the ever impending clash till a better way than war could be devised.

On November 7, the anniversary of his birth, he was laid to rest in the Founders' Chapel at Cornell. As those who loved him gathered for the last sad rites there met them the news, telephoned from a distant city, of the signing of the armistice and the laying down of arms; and, while the listener at the receiver could hear the sirens in the far town shrieking their exultation at the tidings that came too late for him we mourned, the great bell that had tolled his six and eighty years sounded the hour, the sun broke from a cloud with a transfiguring ray that lighted the face of the dead, and the sweet chimes he loved burst forth into the resurrection hymn.

Elaine

By EDNA ST. VINCENT MILLAY

Oh, come again to Astolat!
I will not ask you to be kind;
And you may go when you will go,
And I will stay behind!

I will not say how dear you are,
Or ask you if you hold me dear,
Or trouble you with things for you,
The way I did last year.

So still the orchard, Lancelot,
So very still the lake shall be,
You could not guess—though you should guess—
What is become of me.

So wide shall be the garden-walk,
The garden-seat so very wide,
You needs must think—if you should think—
The lily maid had died.

Save that a little way away
I'd watch you for a little while,
To see you speak, the way you speak,
And smile—if you should smile.

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The Red Fleet in the Baltic

By ALBERT RHYS WILLIAMS

IN January, 1918, the Soviet Government sent out the following wireless message—one of the many appeals to revolt that were continuously going out:

The Revolutionary sailors of the Baltic Fleet, in conference assembled, send their greetings of brotherhood to their heroic German comrades who have taken part in the insurrection at Kiel.

The Russian sailors are in complete possession of their battleships. The Sailors' Committee are the High Command. The yacht of the former Czar, the "Polar Star," is now the headquarters of the Fleet Committee, which is composed of common sailors, one from each ship.

Since the Revolution, the Russian Fleet is as busy as formerly, but the Russian sailors will not use the fleet to fight their brothers but everywhere to fight under the Red Flag of the International for the freedom of the proletariat throughout the entire world.

With the words, "Flower and pride of the revolutionary forces," Trotzky had hailed the sailors of Kronstadt as they stood in July before the Tauride Palace, 6,000 strong, demanding "All Power to the Soviet!" These were words, not of flattery, but of fact; for the Russian sailors were first to hoist upon their battleships the red flag of revolt, just as the German sailors are now the first to fly the red emblem of the Revolution. Through all the days of counter-revolution they were the first to sense danger to the new democracy. They have always been first to drop everything and hurry to its rescue.

They had no love for the Kerensky Government; yet when it was threatened, by the thousand they came pouring out of their ships and island citadel to line up against the wild divisions of Kornilov. When the cadets rose against the Bolsheviks and took possession of one of the nerve-centres of Petrograd—the telephone-station—it was the sailors who headed the storming party that rushed the courtyard entrance and dug the cadets from their nest. When Petrograd was threatened with being cut off from food, and the November revolution with being starved into submission, the sailors were dispersed throughout the countryside as far afield as Siberia. With argument and bayonet they started the flow of food into the revolutionary capital. When the unity of Russia was threatened by Ukrainia and the counter-revolutionists on the Don, it was the sailors pouring down from the Baltic fleet on the North and up from the Black Sea fleet in the South who put fear into the hearts of the separatists.

The reason why the revolution is so precious to the sailor is that to him it means deliverance from the nighmare of a past the very thought of whose return is intolerable. The Russian naval officers were recruited exclusively from the privileged caste. The count against them is that they enforced, not a rigid discipline, but one that was arbitrary and personal. The weal of the sailor might be subject to the whims, jealousies, and insane rage of a petty officer whom he despised. His replies to his superior were limited to the three phrases: *tak tochno* (quite so), *nekak niet* (no indeed), *rad staratsa* (glad to try my best), with of course the natural salutation, "Your Nobility!" In four years 404 seamen were sent to disciplinary battalions, 79 to military prisons, 322 to civil prisons, 1,235 to penitentiaries, 431 to Katerga (hard labor in Siberia) and 56 were executed.

For this reason the outbreak of the revolution meant the killing of scores of officers, the dismissal of hundreds of others, and a sharp watch over all the rest. For this reason Kerensky, when he appeared to be coquetting with those whose eyes were longingly turned to the past, felt the hot blast of indignation from the fleet.

RESOLUTION

The Second Congress of Representatives of the Baltic Sea Fleet has passed the following resolution:

We demand from the Soviet of Soldiers, Workmen and Peasant Deputies and the *Centro-flot* the immediate removal from the ranks of the Provisional Government of the "Socialist"—political adventurer Kerensky, as one who is scandalizing and ruining the great revolution and with it the great revolutionary people, by his shameless political blackmail in behalf of the bourgeoisie.

To thee, Kerensky, who hast betrayed the revolution, we send curses. At the moment when our comrades, stricken down by shells and bullets, and drowning in the Gulf of Riga, are calling us to the defence of the revolution; at this moment when we all, as one man, are ready to lay down our lives for freedom, ready to die in open fight on the sea with the external foe and on the barricades with the internal enemy, we are sending to thee, Kerensky, and to thy friends, curses for thy appeals, by which thou art endeavoring to disintegrate the forces of the fleet in this fearful hour for the country and the revolution.

Second Congress of Representatives of the Baltic Fleet. October 16, 1917. Helsingfors.

In no country is it possible to confuse the sailor with the landsman. The unmistakable stamp of the open sea is in his bearing and in his blood is the tang of the salt-sea winds. But the Russian sailor has something which marks him off even from his own kind throughout the world. In his heart there blazes the revolutionary fire. As flaming apostles of Socialism the men from the fleet passed along the highways and through the market-places of Russia; even in the remotest villages the sluggish-souled peasant felt the quickening touch of these missioners of revolt. They were ubiquitous, and zealous in every meeting and every plot. But these sailors who have so keenly set out for the democratization of Russia—how well have they democratized their own section of it? They who have so confidently challenged the whole world order—what sort of order have they set up in their own homes?

Home to the 1,500 sailors of the Siberian fleet was Vladivostok. To the 10,000 men in the landlocked fleet of the Caspian it was Baku. The 8,000 sailors of the Ice fleet guarding the White Sea found their refuge in Archangel. The two main fleets—the Black Sea, leading the revolt of 1905, and the Baltic, claiming the honors for 1917—had respectively a personnel of 45,000 and 65,000 men. These sailors from their far-reaching campaigns of propaganda and civil war come homing back to Sebastopol and Odessa in the Black Sea and to Reval, Kronstadt and Helsingfors on the Baltic.

My first glimpse of the sailor at home was in the Gulf of Finland, where the Baltic fleet stood as a barricade on the water-road to Petrograd. An old reserve officer directing me along the quay pointed out a strip of yellow wood which ran around the "Polar Star," the yacht of the former Czar, and said:

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That moulding is of best mahogany, and cost 25,000 rubles, but the sailors are now too lazy to keep it polished. So they painted it yellow. In my day a sailor was a sailor. He knew that his job was to scrub and polish and he tended to his job. But the devil is loose among them now. Think of it! On this very yacht that belonged to the Czar himself ordinary seamen sit about making laws about managing the ships and the fleet and the country. And they don't stop there. They talk about managing the world. Internationalism and democracy they call it, but I call it downright treason and insanity.

There in brief is the point at issue between the defenders of the old régime and the champions of the new revolutionary order. In the old order the discipline and control were superimposed from above; in the new they proceed from the men themselves. The old was a fleet of officers; the new is a fleet of sailors. In the change a new set of values has been created; a new code has been formed. In it the polishing of the sailors' wits upon democracy and internationalism has higher rating than polishing the brass and mahogany.

The second indication of the temper of the new fleet came to us as we climbed the gangway of the "Polar Star," where Rasputin and his associates once had their day. The correspondent of the *San Francisco Bulletin,* Miss Beatty, was informed that the presence of her sex upon the ships was tabooed. The captain was very polite, very much adorned with gold braid, but withal very helpless.

"In such a matter, you understand," he explained, 'I can do nothing at all. Everything is in the hands of the 'committee.' "

"But she has come 10,000 versts to see the fleet."

"Well, we can see what the 'committee' says," he answered. "The 'committee' was complaisant and made a special dispensation in the matter. We were on our way again, with the captain in advance warding off the challenging inquiries of the crew with the explanation "by special permission from the 'committee.' "

But the word *captain* is an anachronism. Rule 2 of the Decree for the Democratization of the Fleet reads: "All denominations of ranks existing up till now which serve to show class distinctions are abolished and all are to be called Seamen of the War Fleet of the Russian Republic."

Furthermore, "All giving of titles is to be abolished and all men are to bear the name of their calling in accordance with the special function that they fulfil; for example, *grazhdanin kommander* (citizen commander). In like manner it is 'citizen artillerist,' 'citizen electro-technician,' etc." But *captain* is not the only anachronism. His gold braid is an anachronism likewise, for on the new uniform common to all seamen the trappings and tinsel are at a minimum.

The citizen commander pointed down the corridor past the princesses' suits to the great cabin from whose precincts he said that he was debarred. It was consecrated to the meetings of the Central Committee of the Baltic Sea—or, as it is more familiarly known, the *Centrobalt.* It consisted of one representative for every contingent of 1,000 sailors, making a committee of about 65. This Ceneral Committee is divided into four general departments.

The Administrative Committee deals with questions about the make-up of the fleet, the construction of new ships, and the conditions in the factories where these ships are made. It determines the personnel of the crews, the transfer of sailors from one ship to another, the rate of pay, mobilization, and demobilization.

The Supply Committee looks after the provisioning of the fleet with food, coal, oil and medicines. It looks after the finances of the fleet, accepting the new ships that are built and paying for them.

The Political Committee conducts a propaganda by sending to the front, to the barracks, and throughout the countryside, men with papers, books and speeches. The rules provide that all seamen are free to become members of any political, national, religious, economic or professional organizations, societies, or unions. They have the right to preach freely and openly, verbally, by writing, or in print, their political, religious, or other views. The juridical section of this committee examines into scandals and conflicts between salors and commanders. The inquest section makes inquiries into bad ships, counter-revolutionary activities, and like matters.

The War Marine Department (*Voyenno-Morskoy-Otdiel*) is the executive head of the fleet. It consists of a commander and two assistants, one managing the operative and the other the technical side. In all operative and technical affairs the War Marine Department is of supreme authority. All the orders to the fleet, to the smaller units, and to the individual ships are given under the signature of the chief and countersigned by a member of the department attached to his service. In matters of navigation and technique this commanding staff is in complete control over the whole organization both in and out of battle. It holds command over the drilling; and fixes the time for the sailing of the ships. Having such a large measure of authority, it is responsible for its actions before the plenum of the Central Committee and the higher organs of state. In all orders and dispositions regarding the technical and operative side of the fleet the chief of this department must assume full responsibility for results. As for the work executed in conjunction with the Central Committee on economic, administrative, or political affairs, the chief is responsible only when the resolution of the Central Committee is in conformity with his own report. If the resolution passed by the Central Committee is opposed to the views announced by the chief on the subject, he is freed from all responsibility as to the results of its execution.

By the irony of history these seamen were put to work upon the problems of radical democracy in the very cabin where but a few months before the most reactionary autocrat in all the world held control. My credentials secured me entrance to the cabin which had none of the elegance that I had imagined. The piano and other decorative furnishings had been removed, while the table and chairs were protected with brown canvas covers. It had been turned into a workshop and carried as business-like an air about it as did the seamen who were conducting their routine work in it. Ordinary seamen they were who had suddenly turned legislators, administrators, and clerks. They were a bit awkward in their new rôle but they clung to it with desperate earnestness for sixteen hours a day. For they were dreamers held by an ideal whose drive and scope appear in the address which they presented to me after my greetings had been interpreted by the captain.

TO THE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE AMERICAN SOCIAL DEMOCRACY, ALBERT WILLIAMS, IN REPLY TO HIS GREETING TO THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE BALTIC FLEET

The Russian democracy in the person of the representatives of the whole Baltic Fleet sends warm greetings to the entire proletariat and all the workers of the country beyond the ocean and hearty thanks for the greetings sent by our brothers in America.

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Comrade Williams is the first swallow come flying across to us to the cold waves of the Baltic Sea, which now for a period of over three years has been dyed by the blood of the sons of one family, the International.

The Russian democracy, the Russian proletariat, will strive up to its last breath, to unite everybody under the red banner of the International. When starting the Revolution, the Russian democracy did not have in view a political revolution alone. The task of all true fighters for Freedom consisted in the creation of a social revolution and the advanced vanguard of the revolutionaries in the person of the members of the Russian Fleet and the workmen will fight to the end for the realization of these great ideas and will hope to find sympathy, an answer to their call, and help in other countries.

The flame of the Russian Revolution, we are sure, will spread over the whole world and light a fire in the hearts of the workers of all countries, and we shall obtain support in our struggle for a speedy general peace.

The free Baltic Fleet is awaiting with impatience the moment, when it will be able to go to America and relate there all that the Russian democracy went through before the revolution under the yoke of czarism and and capital and what it is feeling now when the banner of the struggle for the freedom of peoples is unfurled.

LONG LIFE TO THE AMERICAN SOCIAL-DEMOCRACY.
LONG LIVE THE PROLETARIAT OF ALL COUNTRIES.
LONG LIVE THE INTERNATIONAL.
LONG LIVE GENERAL PEACE.

The Central Committee of the Baltic Fleet, Fourth Convention. (SEAL)

(Signed by the officers and thirty-four members of the Committee.)

Feodor Averichkin, secretary of the Central Committee, escorted me on the pilot-boat to his battleship, the "Respublika." The entire crew was assembled on deck to give cheers and to hear the news from the first foreign *tovarishch* (comrade). The declaration that he was an American Internationalist put him immediately at one with 960 out of 1,020 members of the crew. The officer Zazloki translated, but a speech was not necessary. The phraseology of the new revolutionary ideology has entirely displaced the old patriotic and religious ideology in Russia. The mere reiteration of the new battle cries has power to charm and inspirit these new disciples of revolt. The sounding of them in my foreign accent drew such an outburst of applause that it echoed like a slavo from all the ship's batteries. A testimonial was inscribed with an array of seals and signatures in the characteristic Russian manner.

The photographer was called upon to make a record of this historic event—the American and the Russian Internationalist shaking hands on the bridge of the battleship "Respublika" off the coast of Finland. It was done amidst great acclamation from the crew.

In all this the commander and his staff hung on the edge of the crowd as if they were outsiders or outcasts. I pointed this out to Averichkin and suggested that it savored of humiliation. He averred that the proceedings were quite in accord with regulation Number 37, which provided that the commanding staff be debarred from all affairs which were of state or international significance.

"But isn't your commander a good fellow?" I asked. He looks that way to me."

"Why, yes," Averichkin replied. "Even before the revolution he was a good fellow and now he is one of the best in the world. So if you want him in the picture, all right."

The captain smiled and took his place in the picture amidst much applause from the crew. After this love feast we retired to the ship committees' quarters where I was plied with innumerable questions about the American navy ranging from "Do the American navy officers reflect solely the viewpoint of the upper classes?" to "Are the American battleships kept as clean as this one of ours?" As we talked, eggs and steak were brought to me, while a great plate of potatoes was served each member of the committee. I commented upon the difference.

"Yours is officers' fare and ours is sailors'," they explained.

"*Pochemoo, revolutsia?*" (Why, after the revolution?) I exclaimed.

They laughed and said, "The revolution has given us the thing that we value most—our freedom. We are masters of our own ship. We are masters of our own lives. We have our own courts. We can have shore-leave when not in service. Off duty we have the right to wear civilian clothes. We do not demand that the revolution should give us everything. Afterwards, however, these men became a bit more ambitious gastronomically, though on account of the shortage of food the democratization of the ration was accomplished more by sabotage on the officers' ration than by levelling up that of the sailors.

The crew not only elects its own committee—generally on the basis of one member for every fifty sailors—but likewise chooses all its officers. For the position of commander the list of the candidates is drawn up by the ship's committee together with the flagman. For the position of assistant commander the list is made up by the committee in consultation with the commander. The balloting then proceeds on the basis of general suffrage and the election is valid if two-thirds of the crew participate.

Each group of specialized workers elects its own head. The electro-technicians elect one of their number as chief. The divers elect one of their number as chief of their guild. The list of the candidates is made up by the men in consultation with the commander. The crew is informed of the results of the elections. If during seven days no protest is raised upon the part of the crew against any elected person he is regarded as confirmed in his position by the personnel of the ship.

Every seaman has the right to refuse the post to which he has been elected, provided he gives the motive for his refusal. The final decision as to the acceptance or rejection of this refusal is left to the Central Committee of the fleet, to whom must be submitted a detailed record of the case.

There are three tendencies in the present democratization of the fleet: (1) The formation of specialized groups like divers, and mechanics into corporations or guilds. This action exhibits a syndicalist viewpoint. In the medical force the professional union of physicians and *feldshers* (assistant surgeons) presents its candidates to the different ships. They are then confirmed in their position by the different crews, and the results of the election are communicated to the Central Committee.

(2) The concentration of much power in the executive heads. This begins with the chief of the War-Marine Department, and runs down through the commanders of divisions, flotillas, divisions of ships of the second, third and fourth rank, airship, coast defence, hydrographical expeditions, etc.

(3) A wide provision for the use of the recall in the individual ships and in the fleet at large. One-third of the members of the crew may raise the question against any one in authority. It is the same in a specialized group. If, for example, the electro-technicians are dissatisfied with their chief, one-third of their number can raise the question

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of his recall. If two-thirds of the contingent vote for the recall it is directed by the ship's committee, together with a report of the chief of the unit to the Central Committee for final confirmation of the decision.

As there are fleets on the different seas and rivers, the next body above the central committees of the different fleets is the All-Russian Convention of Fleets. They elected first of all a Marine Council of twenty members, which exercises a general supervision over the building of new ships, the inspection of wharves and barracks, and the new courses in the naval colleges. The most important function of this Marine Council is to sit as a part of the great central governing body of Russia—the Soviet of Workmen's, Soldiers' and Peasants' Deputies in Moscow.

The second superior body elected by this All-Russian Convention of Fleets is the Supreme Marine College of three. The chief of this is *ex-officio* a member of the Council of People's Commissaires. The sailor Dybenko was the first to hold that office. The second member of the Supreme Marine College was Modest Ivanov under whose direction were the departments of the Naval Ministry in the great Admiralty Building in Petrograd. Here is his letter to the editor of the *Revolutzionny Flot*:

CITIZEN EDITOR:

Having received numerous letters containing threats even of death, and not having the time or the opportunity for answering them, I consider it my duty to explain why I entered the Supreme Marine College.

I must tell you who I am. I am Modest Ivanov, forty-two years old. I took part in three wars which Russia conducted. I was at Port Arthur, have been wounded twice and have decorations for active service, including the sword of St. George. I am an Academician. At the moment of the March revolution I was commander of the cruiser "Diana" and on leave of absence at Kronstadt. I was not there subjected to any violence or insult. In reply to a telegram of the crew and the officers of the "Diana" I arrived immediately at Helsingfors and went to the "Diana," where I was received most heartily by all. On May 14 I was elected by the second detachment of cruisers ("Rossia," "Gromoboi," "Diana," and "Avrora") and appointed at the request of the crews chief of the detachment. I retained the post for six months, accomplishing all the time certain responsible tasks. During this period there was not a single case of insult to an officer on the part of the crews. The commanders were also elected, and the sailors and officers lived in perfect friendship.

But I saw clearly that the officers were lagging behind the progress of political thought in the country. They were becoming more and more separated, losing contact with the crews, that is, with the people. My opinion is, that the fault lay in the difference between the staff of the commander of the fleet and the highest democratic organization in the fleet, that is, the *Centrobalt*. At the most critical moments (Kornilov's attempt and the separation of Finland) the voice of the commander of the fleet and his staff was not heard. The position of the officers became acute. They were in a *cul-de-sac*. Owing to certain events (my conflict with the former Minister of Marine Lebedev) I knew that the crew, that is, the people, trust me, not as a leader of any political party, but as a naval officer, Modest Ivanov, who stood up for the power of the people in the person of the committees, and whom the sailors knew by his service in the fleet during the course of twenty-four years. After the revolution of November, on the 27th, I received from the *Centrobalt* a telegram demanding my consent to be put up as a candidate for the Supreme Military College. I was given one hour in which to decide. I consented immediately. My candidature was unanimously confirmed by the *Centrobalt*, and afterwards the All Russian Convention of Fleets, the first in the history of the world, elected me finally and promoted me to the rank of rear-admiral.

You ask me why I entered the Supreme Marine College. I will give you a precise answer: I hoped and still hope to find a common language between the sailors and the officers for the creation of a future, maybe a national fleet. . . . Most of you write that my name will be nailed to the pillory of history. . . . I answer: "Let it be so nailed, but let Russia have in the future a great commercial national fleet, as she has a military fleet."

(Signed) Member of the Supreme Marine College and Manager of the Ministry of Marine, Rear Admiral

January 19, 1918 MODEST IVANOV

In spite of all the terrible vicissitudes through which the fleet passed since Modest Ivanov wrote these words, he has retained his faith in the integrity of the sailors, and the reports of the Fifth Congress of Soviets show him still the ardent believer in their great adventure of democratization. But as a class the officers still cling to the hope of a return of the old order. After the decree of democratization they met at their club and in a resolution declared that the decree would inevitably lead to the complete disorganization and ruin of the fleet, that it compelled the officers to be on the same footing with soldiers in the common rights, and that they would recognize only the decision of the Constituent Assembly.

How has all this affected the efficiency of the fleet? Many experts will testify that they find in the fleet the inevitable effects of the destruction of the old discipline—a considerable lowering of its technical efficiency. Others assert that after going through three years of war and two revolutions the fleet was in as good condition as any in the world. This seems a partisan view. As to its moral efficiency, there is no doubt that it was superb. The battle of the Moon Sound Isles furnished a good test-case. Outnumbered by the German squadron and outdistanced both in speed and gun-range, these revolutionary sailors fought a brilliant engagement with the enemy. Even their worst detractors have admitted that the fighting morale of the fleet was unsurpassed. The fervor of the sailors would probably have assured the success of the experiment in democratization if the officers instead of "sabotaging" had given enthusiastic support to the undertaking. But they are tragically fettered by the habits of their class and by the ingrained prejudices of their tradition. Though some strove to make the democratic gesture and to repeat the shibboleths of Socialism their hearts were not in the task.

To insure success, behind the democratic machinery there must be the enthusiastic democratic spirit. The sailors, realizing this, have made ready for the training of their commanders out of the ranks of the workers. They founded a university in which hundreds of sailors were taking courses ranging from the most elementary to the most advanced. In the meeting of the Educational Committee, when they were organizing their curriculum, I blunderingly asked the chairman from what school or university he came. He blushed and hesitated, then said: "No university; no school. I am almost one of the dark people. But I am a revolutionist. We know that our greatest enemy is ignorance, and we are going to begin right now to kill that foe." By his ardency he persuaded several members of the University of Helsingfors, many officers, and several cooperating scientific and educational societies to join in this work. While the regulations demand that "all persons appointed to commanding posts must have corresponding training, theoretical and practical, attested by certificate from special schools," in the present exigencies seamen who are particularly skilled and who can pass practical tests before the commission appointed by the Central Committee are allowed to hold certain posts. The Sailors' University provides a shortened theoretical education for them.

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The world-wide rise of the working-class forcing a new social reorganization is based not solely upon the demand for the necessities of life but on the claim for a larger participation in some of its amenities. Coming down the main street of Helsingfors one night I was commenting upon the absence in this port town of the usual bands of sailors rolling down the street. Suddenly we were brought sharply up before an imposing building which had the dimensions and appearance of a great modern hotel. The door opened, and we heard strains of music. Entering, we went along a richly carpeted stairway and through curtained doorways until we came to the dining-hall. There, in a room set with potted plants and mirrors, with hundreds of lights shining upon the glistening napery and silver, were the diners, listening to the orchestra playing Chopin and Tchaikovsky interspersed with an occasional ragtime piece from the American conductor. It was not the usual hotel assemblage of adventurers, speculators, bankers, and politicians, with their retainers and their women, but the seamen of the war fleet of the Russian Republic. The game and smoking rooms were crowded, while through the halls and corridors streamed a procession of laughing, jesting, arguing sailors in their suits of blue.

The hotel bore in big letters the sign *Matrosski Kloob* (Sailors' Club). When it was opened ten thousand sailors immediately joined, paying their dues of two marks a month and organizing their club on the usual Russian Soviet plan. Every fifty members of the club chose one delegate. That made about 200 members in the central committee, from which was chosen the presidium of twelve. Eighty-five per cent. of the sailors are literate—a proportion surprisingly high among the Russian proletariat. The club accordingly boasted a much-used magazine room, the nucleus of a library, and an excellent illustrated weekly journal, *Moryak* (The Seaman). The motto of the organization was: "A welcome to all the sailors of the world."

After hoisting the red flag of revolt one of the first acts of the revolutionary fleet was to abolish all outward signs of the hated old régime. Those ships which carried in their names reminders of the old autocracy were rechristened and came forth from their baptism of paint with names fitting the new republican order. By this ceremony the "Emperor Alexander II" became the "Dawn of Liberty" *(Zaria Svobody);* the "Czarevitch" became the "Citizen" *(Grazhdanin);* the "Emperor Paul the First" became the "Republic" *(Respublika).* Such changes were easy to make, but they were not merely superficial. They are symbolic of a change in reality. They are the outward and visible signs of an inward and spiritual fact—the democratization of a great fleet. Many changes in the technique have been and will be made, but it will always be a democratic fleet. Just as the fervid revolutionary spirit of the seamen made this democratization and consequent socialization possible, so is this socialization in its turn reacting upon the psychology of the seamen. They have a deep feeling of communal ownership. When the ship's boat carried me away from the "Respublika." Averichkin with a gesture that took in all the gray ships riding at anchor in the bay, and with a gleam of pride in his eye, exclaimed: "Our fleet! Our fleet! And we shall make it the best fleet in the world. It will always be ready to fight for liberty and justice"; and then, as if looking out beyond the gray mists which hung above the bay and beyond the red mists of the world war, he added, "until we make the international revolution and the end of wars."

Nadson, a Minor Poet of Czarist Russia

By EUGENE MARK KAYDEN

NADSON is not one of the greatest of Russia's poets, yet the history of the Russian struggle for freedom cannot be written without him, who was the true representative of the high-souled fraternity of Russia's youths sacrificing life and ambition, in the face of cruel oppression and death, for the sake of a free and happy people. He came in the darkest period of Russian life, when man sank in the slough of hopelessness and doubt, and his poetry, quivering with feminine tenderness, was the intimate confession of a generation inhibited in thought and in action, as well as the personal expression of the intense sensibility of a restless, idealistic ardent youth.

In life, too, Semeón Iákovlèvich Nádson was the outward symbol of the times. Born in St. Petersburg in 1862, the grandson of a converted Jew, he inherited ill-health and melancholy. His father died in an insane asylum, and his mother, a delicate woman of the small nobility, was compelled to support herself and her little boy of two. Because of pressing want and her ambition to give the boy a proper education, he was sent to a military boarding school. Both mother and son were heart-broken by their enforced separation, and each Sunday night, after a brief holiday together at the end of the week, they suffered the torment of leave-taking. The mother soon died of consumption, and the boy was left alone, at twelve, in the hundred-headed fellowship of the school. His violin was his only companion, and his diary his silent, intimate friend. "How empty and vain life seems, its desires and ambitions, and how terrible the unfathomed mystery of the peaceful sleep of the grave," he wrote in 1875. "Is there life beyond death, where the just are happy? . . . Fortunate is he who has a mother who can explain it all and bring peace with her power of holy love! But for me, in such moments my only comfort is reading and writing."

The shy and lonely boarding-school boy early dedicated himself to poetry. In 1877 the Populist movement among the liberal young men and women of Russia, aiming to elevate the peasants by personal contact with their life and problems, and to educate and direct their instincts for liberty, had reached its zenith. Young Nádson entered life with courage and faith, singing of the triumph of goodness, truth, and freedom. He thought much of social ideals and service, of the meaning of life and human fellowship.

> Oh, had the Muses given me
> The gift of burning speech and song,
> How stern and merciless would I
> Denounce and lash all vice and wrong!
> I'd rouse mankind from out their dark,
> And raise up high the torch of light;
> With living song I will inspire
> The world in battles for the right!
> Oh, I will laugh a mighty laugh,
> My tears their human hearts will burn!
> And old ideals, long forgot,
> Arisen will to earth return.*

But a note of doubt and melancholy rang in his verse. "My fate denied me speech," he complained.

*The translations are by the writer of the article.

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My breast is rent with barren sobs,
Upon my lips reproaches grave;
My heart with pain avows that I
Am not a prophet, but a slave.

For a moment the lad's loneliness was broken by a ray of happiness, the genial friendship of a classmate, and the timid affection of the latter's sister, a girl of his own age. But adversity returned with cruel swiftness. The girl died early in 1879, and Nádson was again left alone, suffering from the thought that he, who should have been "first mourner at her tomb," had no real and determinate share in her life.

Delicate, compassionate, sensitive to the social life about him, he now entered the gloom of the eighties. This was the darkest decade in the history of progressive Russia, the Cimmerian blackness before the outburst of revolutionary forces, the trial of the spirit. It was announced by the shrill cry of the publicist Katlov, "Gentlemen! The Government is coming back!" The era of the emancipation and the great reforms, followed by the Populism of the seventies, ended in failure. The majority of educated Russians who faced the overwhelming task of bringing light and happiness to the liberated peasantry lacked political experience and energy of mind; besides, they had the ill fortune to labor in the shadow of the Czar. They began with high hopes of a sudden social transformation, but they saw only failure, ignorance, and hostility, and they yielded to doubt and weariness. The Government of Alexander III was cruelly stamping out every effort on the part of the *intelligentsia* to work for the people. Life had no hopes; there was nothing to live for; nowhere to go. This was the twilight of Russian life, the period of endless autumn. In this twilight were born Chekhov's stories of life destroyed, of life without purpose and ideals. In this twilight gleamed the soft, silvery sorrow of Nádson:

Ah, dead is my Muse! For a moment she flashed
On my desolate way. Now the roses their bloom
On the autumn have shed, and the fires are dead;
Only dreary night hangs on me black as the tomb! . . .
In my weary heart broken with pain and unrest
I seek vainly the musical healing of gladness,
For my sweet-scented laurel is crushed, and my lips—.
They are songless in battle and songless in sadness.

His Muse, who came with the smile of youth, "proud in all her blameless loveliness," bearing gifts of beauty and peace, was trampled in the dust, and now

The hymns of old are dead! . . . The storms destroyed
Her ringing strains of joy, and left no trace;
And now her song is one lament of pain—
The thorns have pierced the passion of her brow. . . .

It is hard to overestimate the popularity of Nádson. Magical in form and color and emotional appeal, he touched the central nerve of his generation with a loving heart, with tenderness and sincerity. Thousands repeated after him his lines of weariness and self-reproach, as though reading in them their own doom. The sorrows and the darkness of his day entered his body; he was their visible, physical symbol. He was the twilight, the autumn of Russian life, like that autumn which Pushkin and Tiutchev loved to compare to a dying woman, who must droop without complaint or anger, the hectic red upon her cheeks, the smile of suffering upon her lips. Consumption developed in him in 1882. He gave up his military career, unsuitable to his health as it was uncongenial to his temperament, but it was not before October, 1884, that he could go for treatment and rest to the south of France, assisted by his devoted friends and the Authors' Fund. Feeling the approach of death, he returned in a year to die in his own Russia. The last year of his life he spent in the Crimea; his health improved, when suddenly the unscrupulous criticism of Burénin, taunting the sick man with imposing on and living at the expense of friends, so upset the poet that the old symptoms returned, and he passed away, January 19, 1887, begging his friends in his last moments to defend him against the critic's injustice.

If as a boy upon the schoolhouse bench he dreamed of being the poet of beauty, singing in lofty marble halls "in honor of the queen," as a young man he entered the fellowship of the dreamers and the fighters, "to weep with those who weep and give the lost my hand." The nights, when the young dreamers of Russian freedom met in dingy rooms to take heart and counsel together, were his chosen themes:

One night I well remember. Deathly pale
From azure skies descended she to us,
With shy caress of silver-shining May
And greeting of our northern pensive spring.
We threw our windows wide upon the night;
She came, our pallid guest, together with
The sound of wheels on ringing streets, and sat
In our busy nook, around our modest feast.
And even as she came into our room
With aromatic breath of lilac sprays,
Soon after her came softly mournful shades
And whispers from the gloom of bygone days.
. . . . . .
My voice rang not to please an empty throng
Of sated demi-gods and lords of earth;
I sang without desiring fame or praise,
To weary brothers I, a brother, sang;
To men who pressed around the flag of truth
And suffered in the bitter fight I sang,
That may their toiling hands nor droop or fall,
That may their young alliance never break.
I sang to them a glowing hymn of hope,
Of truth victorious, and coming days
Of light and happiness and peace on earth.

He suffered through the despair and doubt of his generation that he might point the way to distracted youth. The white light of his lyricism cut the darkness as a ray of hope.

But more than the poet of his generation, more than the moaning voice of bewildered youth, Nádson was the poet of the restlessness, the dreams, the searchings, and the tumult of youth; the poet of virginal yearning after the ideal, which is eternal. He sought truth for himself with quixotic resolution and persistence. He could not give himself to personal happiness and joy, for it was shameful to love hearthstone content, and to dream, in the world's grief and darkness. Life to him was a holy cell of prayer, and a field of labor. He loved Russia as a woman enslaved, insulted, suffering. Like a knight-errant, he entered the lists to fight her cause, to destroy her enemies. It is to her that he prays, "My country, oh, accept me—I am thine!" He would be her faithful "watch-dog." Love of country, faith in her future, made him forget his pain; it gave him wings. For her sake he saved his soul from fear and doubt, that he might sing "a glowing song of hope" to weary brothers, and inspire them with his faith in the dawning day of freedom for his poor land. His voice was that of a brother singing, with nervous trembling in a lonely hour, of courage and hope. And youth heard him; woman's tender soul responded. In dungeons, in frozen prison huts of Siberia, in quiet

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circles of dreamers and fighters, from end to end of Russia, low and solemn voices, ringing with hope and defiance, have sung, the Marseillaise of rejuvenated life:

O my friend, O my suffering brother I love!
O my brother, be great in thy soul!
Let injustice and evil imperious rule,
And the earth cry in anguish and dole;
Let ideals profaned be and temples lie sacked,
And innocent blood fill the land—
O believe! soon the morning will break in the sky,
And love to the earth will descend.

Not in chains, and her shoulders not bent by the cross;
She is clothed with beauty and might!
In sovereign glory and gladness she comes,
And the torch in her hand is of light.
No more tears, no more hate in the day that will dawn,
No more pillories then, no more slaves,
No more hollow-eyed hunger that curses and kills,
No more crossless, inglorious graves.

One more note he struck, this dying man. Out of the wilderness and the despair of his day he came to announce the gathering of revolutionary forces for the struggle with darkness and oppression; the stormy petrel, he announced with a shout of joy, hailing ere he went the grand battle with tyranny:

Hark! The storm petrel cries! . . . Quickly tighten the sails!
Wrapt in darkness, in wrath, and commotion,
With his forehead the tempest high heaven assails,
His heels on the waves of the ocean.
The grey clouds are his robes, and the lightnings of fire
Like a girdle encircle his waist;
And he hurls now his thunders with threatening ire
On the leaden and infinite waste.
Oh, how mighty his wings! Dread with beauty his face!
Be as fearless and grand as thy foe in the race. . . .

In the Driftway

WHILE Miss Rankin and Miss Martin failed of election to the United States Senate, two women are to be seated in the Assembly at Albany on the Republican side. Will they be a leaven or will they become mere cogs in that rotten Albany machine? Time will show. Meanwhile the Drifter notes with astonishment that the first really democratic election took place in the Empire State without rocking the foundations of society. Nobody was shocked, apparently not even the dear old New York *Times;* neither the home nor the sanctity of womanhood seem to have suffered noticeably—at least not at this writing. In fact, the presence of women at the polls was taken by everybody quite as a matter of course. In England the women are now preparing for the election to be held on December 7, and at least five are to be nominated for seats in the House of Commons. They are Miss Mary MacArthur, general secretary of the National Federation of Women Workers, whose name is known throughout the labor world, Miss Eunice Murray, Miss Margaret Bondfield, Mrs. Philip Snowden, and Miss Mina Boyle—all well-known workers in the labor field. I am particularly hopeful that Mrs. Snowden will be returned, not only because her husband is also a member, and a married couple in Parliament would be so delightful a novelty, but because she adds to real oratory and genuine wit, a fine mind and a most attractive personality. Those who heard her here when she came to aid us in the winning of suffrage can not forget her sound sense, her elevated approach to the question, and her ability to puncture the shams of this world. The House would be enriched by the presence of these women to speak for their sex.

* * * * *

JUST 70 years ago a young Rhenish-Bavarian, Friedrich Hilgard, joined a citizens' revolutionary committee, announced that the King of Bavaria was deposed and that the people ruled in his stead. He himself took over as commissary the control of the civil government in the Palatinate —whereupon the King of Bavaria, resident in Munich, borrowed from his brother king of Prussia a goodly army headed by a certain Prince William of Prussia, later destined to conquer the French and become Kaiser Wilhelm I. Friedrich Hilgard's little forces, made up of peasants and shopkeepers, met the Prussians near Hamburg and, being armed only with scythes, swords, cutlasses, shotguns and old-fashioned muskets, broke and ran at the third volley. Hilgard fled to Alsace with the death sentence on his head. In view of the successful deposition of the present king of Bavaria, this forgotten incident has a special interest for the *Nation* family, as its editor happens to be a great-nephew of the unsuccessful revolutionist of 1848, and as his own father, then a boy of thirteen, took part in the revolution and was severely punished for his liberal sympathies and for his refusal to pray for his "anointed majesty the king," in class at school. If the men of '48, Schurz, Sigel, and all the rest, can look down now and see what is going on, with what intense satisfaction must they behold the fall of the Wittelsbach family, which for nine hundred years has misruled Bavaria. It has been a long wait since Friedrich Hilgard's day, but the job will never have to be done again.

* * * * *

BOSTON has not been without a Doctor Putnam for nearly a century. For forty years the brothers Charles and James followed in their father's footsteps; for a little space the younger was left alone; last week Dr. James Jackson Putnam suddenly bequeathed one of Boston's traditions to be carried on by the younger generation. Though he was renowned as a neurologist, and though distinguished specialists from Europe sought him out, it is not on his wide reputation for research, not on his inspiration as a teacher, not even on his power of healing that the Drifter would dwell, but on his rare and exquisite personality. The finest flavor of the old school blended in him with the keenest enthusiasm for the new world about him. He had a genius for fellowship. The attachment of brothers and sisters, parents, children, nephews and nieces grew in that family to comradeship of rare degree. With the garden at Cotuit and the woods at the Adirondack camp, labor at spade and woodpile helped to keep the fine balance of Dr. Putnam's days. How many campers have followed as, handsome and boyish in his Tyrolean outfit, he led the way up Giant, or started the singing round the campfire under the stars. His enthusiasms were so keen, his chosen profession was such a never-failing joy, his appreciation of nature, art, poetry, and music was so satisfying, that unremitting labor never aged him. A few days ago he enjoyed an evening with M. Rabaud, the new conductor of the Boston Orchestra, and on Sunday went to Professor Rolfe's discussion of reconstruction problems at Concord. On Monday, wife and daughter beside him, he looked up from his letter to give his physician a hearty handshake, and his own rarely lovely smile—and his service was fittingly ended.

THE DRIFTER

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Last Week in Washington

Washington, November 9

IF pacifism may be defined, meekly, as a decent regard for peace, then I gravely suspect that something akin to pacifism has all along been not far below the surface of things in Washington. That is, possibly, an heretical opinion, and it is obviously one whose correctness it is difficult to prove, but the painful assimilation of unexpected impressions during the past fortnight has convinced me that this city of "war workers" and strenuous exhortations must be a city of fundamental molly-coddles, after all.

Take, for example, yesterday's spontaneous celebration, when the premature announcement that the armistice had been signed instantly converted this sober bureau-ridden city into the gayest of carnival towns—what was the overwhelming impression which struck you on the streets? Simply the fact that the joyous crowds of soldiers and sailors, of government clerks, of all and sundry, were celebrating, not victory in the conventional Roosevelt sense, but peace! Distrusting my own impressions—for I read ten newspapers every day and take them very seriously—I finally formulated the thing in words and put it to other observers; I got instant agreement, and no dissenting voice. Was your city like this, I wonder? If not, then this must surely be a very curious place.

Indeed, it is a curious place. For every night in the year, you must remember, there stream out of Washington over the telegraph wires columns and columns of conventional newspaper opinion and comment, of professional myths about "public opinion" and "Washington opinion," the ideology of a world in which I defy the common man to find any interests that he recognizes as true or any values for which he cares a copper. It is an idiotic world, measured by the run of rational experiences, the canons of common sense; a world in which bills suddenly can pass Congress or suddenly can't, for unimportant reasons; a world in which the President either does or does not do what it is confidently predicted "on high official authority" he will do; a world in which dull men run up and down dull grooves and write about them; a world of doughty nonsense when you try to find the clew. And all the time the city is really full of human beings going about their business, of suffrage pickets—God bless 'em—going about theirs, of politicians attitudinizing for this world of correspondents and no other. Then comes a day like yesterday when all rôles are dropped and our common humanity comes out.

My theory is that our common humanity is working here all the time, but you would never know it, reading the newspapers. Yesterday's experience made me wish that I could do for the readers of the *Nation* what Graham Wallas has done for students of English politics—strip our Washington "news and views" of the absurd conventions which decorate our national politics, but I don't know that I could. Indeed, I am myself abashed at the suggestion. But somebody ought to, and I can start him off with data showing that while professional "Washington opinion" has been pouring broadsides into the hindsides of pacifists throughout the country, the city itself has been full of people ready to welcome even that despised thing, a negotiated peace. Even the Carnegie Peace Foundation, the first of our institutions to declare war and the last to concede peace, rose gallantly to the occasion and dismissed its employes for a holiday. As Theodore Dreiser used to say when fairly bankrupt for comment: "A mad, mad world, my masters!"

I suppose one reason one has this heterodox sense of the city is because it has been so full of radicals and liberals this past year. Some of them have been mute Wilson liberals, clinging to the President and the war, like shore birds to a cliff in an off-shore gale, but others have been quite seditious daily, judged by Western standards. It was an army officer who, in my office, described Gregory and Burleson as the "Feud and Fool administrators"; it was at the Cosmos Club that I heard the most scathing discussion of the President's "lynching" of the wilful Senators; while the table talk at Congress Hall would, if printed, send any editor to jail. But of course one is bound to recognize the fact that thoroughly reactionary influences have flowed out of Washington through official and newspaper channels, so that Washington, for all my pleasant picture of its human beings, has been responsible for much of the domestic intolerance, stupidity, and worse which has afflicted the land—for much of it, but not for all.

And now what? One man on the street says that the peace treaties are going to be rushed through and ratified by the present Senate before next March. "If the Republicans think they can block the President, they will have their trouble for their pains." But another man led me, unresisting, to the curb on Pennsylvania Avenue and pointed out to me that if the Republicans really want to force the ratification of the treaties over to the Sixty-sixth Congress, which they will control, they can easily filibuster until next March, when this Congress expires. And the filibuster can not be prevented because it takes two-thirds of the Senate to put into force the new rule limiting debate and, of course, two-thirds could not be mustered in the face of Republican opposition. So it seems fairly certain that the liberals of the country will, with the President, have the Republicans on their hands in fixing the peace terms.

My prediction is that this situation will make a national figure of Governor Samuel W. McCall of Massachusetts, a forceful, fairly independent Republican and the one man who can worry Senator Lodge and the New England oligarchy into something like support of the President's peace terms. It was McCall's opposition which defeated Senator Weeks for re-election. While it may readily be foreseen that the Republicans will not relish particularly any admonitions from McCall, the fact remains that the latter is the only conspicuous Republican, not in Congress, to assail the Administration's abuse of civil liberties, and his record throughout the war makes an impression of consistency and sincerity which can not hurt him. If Senator Lodge starts any "funny business" in the Committee on Foreign Relations, I look to see Samuel McCall cut loose and rise steadily in prominence.

I suppose it is peculiarly Washingtonian to mention William Jennings Bryan in connection with this recent election. I mean that in doing so it seems like picking up a worn political counter that wouldn't pass currency anywhere where politics was not taken so seriously. But I can't help it. I have met a man who says that President Wilson has lost Congress because he did not ask Mr. Bryan to come out for him. "He asked Ford and Hoover and McAdoo and Daniels and everybody else to get into the campaign," said this man, "but he did not ask Mr. Bryan. Mr. Bryan was silent, and the Bryan Democrats, noting their leader's silence and feeling free to express themselves, helped elect Republicans in Nebraska, Kansas, Missouri, and all through the Middle West. That is something for you to think about. The Democratic party has tried several times to get along without Mr. Bryan and every time it has done so it has been badly whipped." I pass it on. Personally I find Mr. Bryan's lecture on "Evolution" and Mr. Bryan's prohibition and Mr. Bryan's churchiness poisoning my interest in him as a political leader, but this is a narrow view to take, and as a recorder of Washington opinion I am in duty bound to hand on this suggestion.

BRIAREUS

Contributors to this Issue

The Rt. Rev. CHARLES GORE, D.D., Bishop of Oxford, has just returned to England after a visit to the United States under the auspices of the Committee on the Church and the Moral Aims of the War.

GEORGE LINCOLN BURR is librarian and professor of mediæval history in Cornell University. He was an intimate friend of President White.

ALBERT RHYS WILLIAMS, formerly a war correspondent in Belgium, and author of "In the Claws of the German Eagle," helped to organize the International Legion in Russia and to carry on the propaganda against Germany in the Foreign Office under Trotzky. He is now a representative of the Bureau of Public Information attached to the Foreign Office of the Russian Soviet Republic.

EUGENE MARK KAYDEN is a student of Russian life and literature.

BRIAREUS is Washington correspondent of the *Nation*.

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Correspondence

The High Cost of Justice

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The need of defence funds to make possible a fair presentation of the cases of those prosecuted under the Espionage Act gives rise to the question, what chance for successful defence in the Federal courts has an innocent man without any money?

Let us take, for example, the case of Frank Stephens, recently acquitted by a jury in the Delaware district court. Mr. Stephens is a firm opponent of all war, who did not change his views when the President delivered his war message to Congress. The Espionage Act has failed to convince him of the error of his opinion, but, as he is a non-resistant, this act was not necessary to prevent him from interfering with or obstructing the Government. During the drive for the third Liberty Loan, a woman solicitor, who knew his views and knew that a solicitation of him would be but a waste of time and effort, nevertheless sought him out and insisted on being told his reason for refusing to invest. He finally gave her the requested information, expressing himself concerning war as did James Russell Lowell. She reported this to the Federal authorities, who induced her to make a formal complaint, and Mr. Stephens was indicted under the Espionage Act.

A host of friends promptly rallied to his aid, some of the warmest of them strong upholders of the war. Offers to go on his bond were numerous. But when the day came for doing so difficulties appeared. Legal technicalities shut out the assistance of the larger number. Others had learned that they ran some risk if openly identified with the case of Mr. Stephens. One of them, however, thought that he saw a way to help without coming into the open. He offered to advance the cash, which could be deposited with a bonding company—but the bonding companies had not been reckoned with. These concerns expressed fear lest the Government take from them the business which it controls. Things were looking very dubious when at last a friend, unafraid, but not otherwise qualified to act as bondsman, persuaded a reluctant banker with the offer of gilt-edged collateral (borrowed from another friend) to lend him $5,000 to deposit openly with the court as bail. The banker finally consented, after repeated assurances that neither his name nor that of his bank would be mentioned. Thus after a day's effort it was possible to offer security for the appearance for trial of a man who would not have run away had he the whole world to gain thereby. Of course there was interest on the loan to be met, and this was the first expense incidental to avoiding the consequences of a false charge.

Under utopian conditions an accused person may be able to go into court and conduct his defence without expenditure of a cent, and, if innocent, be sure that he will come out fully exonerated without suffering any loss whatever. But although the charge against Mr. Stephens was groundless, he could have put up no adequate defence without financial help. The expense of getting the information necessary to obtain a fair-minded jury is heavy; the cost of securing an accurate record by a court stenographer as a basis for possible appeal is great. It is needless to itemize all the expenditures that must be met by one called upon to answer an indictment, but in this case they amounted to more than $1,000 in addition to a very moderate attorney's fee.

Had Mr. Stephens been left to himself he would not have lifted a finger to keep out of jail or to secure a favorable verdict, but his friends would not allow so hazardous an experiment. They reminded him that a conviction would be a public calamity which it was his duty to avert if possible. So he consented reluctantly to the raising of a defence fund in his behalf. After a three days' trial he was acquitted. This satisfactory result must not obscure the fact, however, that it could scarcely have been obtained had no money been raised or spent.

In the final settlement an expense item turned up whose injustice is astounding. When Mr. Stephens's bondsman called on the clerk of the court for return of his $5,000, that official deducted one per cent. thereof, explaining that this is customary when cash bail has been deposited, although not when other collateral or real estate has been pledged. Both the clerk and the district attorney declined to name the statute under which the bondsman was mulcted. But if the action is illegal, a suit to establish that fact, involving additional costs, is necessary.

It seems as if the courts themselves should take some action to remedy such conditions; for so long as these conditions last there is cause, despite the best efforts of the courts, to doubt the justice of any conviction of persons whose financial resources are limited. Such doubts are sure to be encouraged if the Post Office Department should make use of its power to bar from the mails appeals for defence funds. Of course, even without interference from that source it is only a question of time until solicitation for such funds must cease or prove fruitless. The Government can, if it will, continue indefinitely arrests and prosecutions. Earnest, devoted, and enthusiastic as are the contributors to defence funds, their financial strength is not great. Exhaustion must come sooner or later. The most innocent will then be helpless unless reform comes quickly.

SAMUEL DANZIGER

Yonkers, N. Y., September 28

The Republic of Bohemia

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The heart of every democrat must be set rejoicing at the wonderful news from Washington of the recognition by the President of the Republic of Bohemia. The President has created an amazing precedent, which should be appreciated by all oppressed people, no matter where they dwell. The President reveals possibilities of nationality greater than any ever suggested by European nationalists.

Therefore, I am prompted to ask some questions about procedure, and the chances of recognition of other peoples who desire freedom. The time to strike has come. If the former Austro-Hungarian Provinces of Bohemia, Slovakia, Moravia, and Silesia may combine and issue in Paris a declaration of independence, what fate is in store for the almost innumerable peoples who at some time or another have indulged in similar ambitions? One has only to read carefully the declaration of the Bohemians and their associates to feel a strong desire to ask that that declaration should be adopted at once as a pattern for all states, large or small. They ask for liberty. And they declare that in the Republic's constant endeavor for progress it will guarantee complete freedom of conscience, religion, science, literature, art, speech, and the press, and the right of assembly and petition. Furthermore, the Republic will enjoy universal suffrage; and women will be placed on an equal footing with men, politically, socially and culturally. Moreover, the rights of the minority will be safeguarded by proportional representation, and the government, parliamentary in form, will recognize the principles of initiative and referendum. Besides, the declaration lays it down that all covenants and treaties shall be entered into openly and frankly, without secret diplomacy. These are some of the salient features of the Bohemians' astounding declaration of independence.

The procedure has been particularly simple, so far as I can see. There has been less fuss and bother than in the case of the beginnings of any other Republic. There is no parallel for this. Neither America nor France won her freedom so easily. But toward the end of the eighteenth century there were difficulties which we do not suffer to-day. There was no President Wilson then. He it is who has made procedure simple, and who has encouraged oppressed people to appeal directly to him for aid. Now the chances of other people should be good if they will only realize without loss of time what has been done for Bohemia. The Danes should not find it difficult to take back Schleswig-Holstein. No matter how long since a people had been swallowed up by an empire, they need not despair of freedom. A datum line need not be considered for a moment. Nationalities, ancient and modern, now have a chance of asserting themselves, with the hope that their aspiration will be recognized by the President. The Greek Archipelago may perhaps assume its ancient condition. There is hope now for Persia, Morocco, Egypt, China, and Ireland—to mention only a few ancient peoples who have not been very happy of late year.

A PATRIOTIC IRISH-AMERICAN

Chicago, October 24

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A Great Military Hero

To the Editor of the Nation:

Sir: At the close of his popular "History of Hannibal," Jacob Abbott has summed up in notable fashion the ability, the perversion of opportunity, and the miserable failure of one of the world's greatest military geniuses. He first contrasts war and commerce as "two great antagonistic principles," of which "war is the great enemy, while commerce is the great friend of mankind." He adds this illuminating and eloquent conclusion:

When Hannibal appeared upon the stage, he found his country engaged peacefully and prosperously in exchanging the productions of the various countries of the then known world, and promoting everywhere the comfort and happiness of mankind. He contrived to turn all these energies into the new current of military aggression, conquest, and war. He perfectly succeeded. We certainly have in his person and history all the marks and characteristics of a great military hero. He gained the most splendid victories, devastated many lands, embarrassed and stopped the commercial intercourse which was carrying the comforts of life to so many thousand homes, and spread, instead of them, everywhere, privation, want, and terror, with pestilence and famine in their train. He kept the countries of his enemies in a state of incessant anxiety, suffering, and alarm for many years, and overwhelmed his own native land, in the end, in absolute and irresistible ruin. In a word, he was one of the greatest military heroes that the world has ever known.

Francis L. Palmer

Stillwater, Minnesota, October 23

For the Honor of America

To the Editor of the Nation:

Sir: The London *Spectator*, in a recent article, suggests that "the United States take over as large a part of Germany's colonies as the United States could be induced to accept." For the honor of America, if this offer should be made officially, it should be courteously, but very promptly and firmly, declined. The United States entered this war in the sacred name of liberty, and not for loot and plunder. The memory of the American dead, who gave their young lives in a spotless cause, should not be stained by the suspicion that "America had her price."

As a substitute I suggest that Germany's African colonies should be given to Belgium, as an indemnity.

Bertrand Shadwell

Chicago, November 3

The Opportunity for Radicals

To the Editor of the Nation:

Sir: You were good enough to publish in your issue of October 19 a paper of mine on reconstruction, bearing the title, "Making Ready for the New Day." A radical yet practical programme was outlined in that paper for the purpose of stimulating thought and discussion. It will interest you to know that I have received several letters from men of recognized ability, influence, and moral authority, in which the hope was expressed that something practical might be done by radicals of various schools along the lines suggested in the article. One well-known leader writes: "I have read your article with a great deal of satisfaction and regard its publication as one of the good signs of an immediate coming time." Another progressive thinker and writer of distinction says: "I write to thank you for the article and also to inquire whether any steps have been taken to have this radical point of view take shape in any kind of an agreement upon a few points of a comparatively simple programme which might be helpfully undertaken. I have reached the conclusion that there is so much of a tide going forward now, and that President Wilson is so clearly a leader of power and wide information, that the time for special propaganda—of the Single Tax, etc.—has gone by, and that we should concentrate our energies to secure the things which are immediately practical as regards public apprehension."

I think it is my duty to submit these suggestions to the readers of the *Nation*, and the editors of other forward-looking journals. Is radical union possible now? Are we ready to lay aside points of doctrine and other differences, not material just now, and concentrate our effort on a moderate but sound and progressive programme? The *Nation* has repeatedly—and sadly—called attention to radical disunion; can anything be done to bring about an entente and harmony among radicals for the sake of certain objectives deemed desirable by all of them?

Such union is not only desirable; it is necessary. Reactionaries are attacking Wilson's advanced ideas concerning justice at home and in foreign affairs. Clever sophists who call themselves radicals are ridiculing this or that vague "point" in the famous Wilson peace programme. The American junkers have no intention of surrendering without another fight, as you have said over and over again. The presidential campaign of 1920 has already begun. The privileged elements have their candidate, and he is unfortunately popular among the ignorant and the thoughtless of all classes who cannot see complicated situations steadily and see them whole. If the radicals and sincere progressives realize the dangers that face us in the United States, they will make some effort to get together and nip the reactionary offensive in the bud.

Chicago, November 5 Victor S. Yarros

Cats of Different Color

To the Editor of the Nation:

Sir: I was rather amused at the expression in last week's number of surprised satisfaction at "the broad position which he (the Postmaster-General) has taken in the negotiations with the telephone and telegraph companies," contrasting this with his administration of the Post Office censorship and the degeneration of the mail service. For my part, I am not at all surprised. Mr. Vail and Mr. Carlton are hardly in the same class with the editors whose publications are censored, or their public.

Subscriber

Chicago, October 29

Indian Analogies

To the Editor of the Nation:

Sir: Judging by the review of William Archer's book on India, its unusual and refreshing frankness should cause many people to want to buy and read it. What moves me particularly to write you is to call your attention to the genius for inappropriate analogy of which the quotations show Mr. Archer to be possessed. He says that the Briton no more enters into the national life of India than "the plumber who puts in your water pipe, or the electrician who wires your house, becomes a member of your family." Had he said: "No more than the burglar who calls to appropriate the family silver," he would have been just as illustrative, but slightly more accurate, for the plumber and the electrician come on the invitation of the family, whereas the burglar comes inspired by the sole idea of improving his own property status, leaving ethical concepts at home as likely to embarrass him in the practice of his profession.

John J. Murphy

New York, November 2

Our Bad Spelling

To the Editor of the Nation:

Sir: There are a great many people who believe in the reform of English spelling and who feel that the present burden of the impossible task of learning to spell English as it is spelt should be lightened for the coming generations. To this end, as a reader for more than 50 years of your paper, I ask you to make some slight step toward reform by adopting the 12 words of the National Educational Association. But if you decline to take this slight step you can at least abandon the cumbersome spelling *programme*, which is condemned by the New English Dictionary (our greatest linguistic authority), and spell *program* in conformity with *telegram*, *anagram*, *epigram*.

In your zeal for reforming the world you might at least extend a helping hand to men of clear judgement [*sic*] and prophetic insight who call themselves the friends of youth.

Palo Alto, Cal., October 24 Notafaddist

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BOOKS

Chekhov's Peasants

The Witch and Other Stories. The Tales of Chekhov: Volume VI. Translated by Constance Garnett. New York: The Macmillan Company. $1.50 net.

THE sixth volume of Chekhov's tales, in the excellent translation of Constance Garnett, contains stories from the life of rural Russia, the paramount Russia, if only by virtue of its forming eighty-six per cent. of the total population. Already in 1851, ten years before the emancipation of the serfs, Alexander Herzen wrote to Michelet: "In Russia the future belongs to the muzhik." Herzen's faith in the peasant was shared by most of his contemporaries and immediate successors, by the adherents of the Populist (*Narodniki*) school as well as by such unclassable authors as Dostoievsky and Tolstoy. To the non-Marxian *intelligentsia,* rustic Russia, communistic and austere, was an inspiration and a pledge for a bright future, different from that of the capitalistic, urban West. The fact that during the larger part of the nineteenth century the best Russian writers belonged to the category of the "repentant noble," explains the prevalent idealization of the peasant in Russian literature, whether it be the gentle poeticized muzhik of Turgenev or the saintly, virtuous toiler whom Tolstoy sets up for us as model and teacher. But with the intrusion of the "commoner" into the ranks of litterateurs, the Russian village and peasant begin to appear in less rosy hues. The children of the people, in describing their kindred, lack the idealizing perspective, the "pathos of distance," which their noble fellow-writers possessed. Hence the despondent note in Gleb Uspensky's stories of the *mir.* Hence Chekhov's disenchanting picture of rural Russia.

Whether taken singly or in their *ensemble,* Chekhov's peasant stories produce a chilling effect: Russia's people appear corrupt and decadent. Economically the village has not only not improved since the emancipation, but has grown worse; the elders continually sigh for the abundance they used to enjoy in the period of serfdom ("Peasants") and bemoan the general deterioration which is becoming manifest in every phase and walk of rustic life, in the yield of crops and in the size and quality of cattle, game, fish, and even of rivers, forests, and human beings ("The Pipe"). Abject poverty and most elementary want have become a matter of course, and men and women speak "gayly" of their hard life in this world and of their slim opportunities for the next world: "And many sins come from poverty; from trouble we snarl at one another . . . and all sorts of things happen, dear lady—God forbid!" ("The New Villa"). From trouble the men beat their wives, methodically, consistently, brutally (*ibidem,* "In the Ravine," "Peasants"). From trouble they drink, drink, drink.

The publication of "The Peasants," in 1897, coincided with the triumph of Marxism in Russia. The Marxians greeted the story as another "proof" of the inevitable doom of patriarchal Russia, and of the advent of the City. In that story a peasant couple after many years spent in Moscow return to the village. But the standard of living they have acquired in the city appears to be much higher and cleaner than that of the village, in sheer contradiction to the assertions of the Populists and of Tolstoy. Here, as elsewhere, Chekhov presents his rural Russia steeped in degrading poverty and in its concomitant—vice, joyless vice committed without passion. Adultery is general and an every-day occurrence; stripped of all the French piquancy, it is invariably accompanied by vodka debauches and is invariably followed by crude beatings, "blows on the ears" and "punches in the face" ("The Witch," "Agafya," "In the Ravine," "The Huntsman," "Peasants"). The peasants are unmoral, not immoral, and in perpetrating crime against the state or society or the gentry their conscience is absolutely silent, atrophied ("The New Villa," "In the Ravine," "The Malefactor"). Their lack of understanding for concepts or interests outside of their immediate environment is appalling. The gulf created by Peter the Great between the superficially Occidentalized gentry and the "vile people" has evidently grown wider and deeper, rendering mutual sympathy and understanding well-nigh impossible. They speak different languages, and the peasants literally fail to understand the words spoken to them by educated or semi-educated people, such as the kind-hearted lady of the "New Villa," or the magistrate in "The Malefactor," or the elder who endeavors to imitate the high tone of the police inspector, in the "Peasants."

Yet, in the words of gentle Olga in the "Peasants," one Chekhov woman who rises above sordid reality and kindles the gloom with a ray of hope:

> . . . it seemed as though these people lived worse than the beasts, and to live with them was terrible; they were coarse, dishonest, filthy, and drunken; they did not live in harmony, but quarrelled continually. . . . Who keeps the tavern and makes the people drunken? A peasant. Who wastes and spends on drink the funds of the commune, of the schools, of the church? A peasant. Who stole from their neighbors, set fire to their property, gave false witness at the court for a bottle of vodka? At the meetings of the Zemstvo and other local bodies, who was the first to fall foul of the peasants? A peasant. Yes, to live with them was terrible; *but yet, they were human beings, they suffered and wept like human beings, and there was nothing in their lives for which one could not find excuse.*

To understand, is to forgive. The degradation of the peasantry, caused by generations of indescribable misery, darkness, oppression, and spoliation, may, in the end, be only skin-deep. For in the gloomiest moments the village is suddenly illumined by a shaft of light, of profound religiosity, a trait which has not been dimmed by suffering, but which, on the contrary, has beautified that suffering and has given courage to those who still share Herzen's faith in the muzhik. At such moments the village becomes regenerated. The drunkard, the wife-beater, the beaten wife, the bestialized slaves, lift their heads, hope, and pray.

> All seemed suddenly to realize that there was not an empty void between earth and heaven, that the rich and the powerful had not taken possession of everything, that there was still a refuge from injury, from slavish bondage, from crushing, unendurable poverty, from the terrible vodka.

One must also remember that important changes have affected the status and the psychology of the peasants during the two decades that have elapsed since Chekhov painted his village. The stolid, slow-thinking muzhik has been gradually stirred from his somnolent passivity to clearer thinking and to purposeful action, by such stimuli as the war with Japan, the revolution of 1905-1906, the disintegration of the *obshchina* by Stolypin's decree, the twelve highly instructive years of the sessions of the Duma, and the formidable events of the last four years.

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Gold and Tinsel

A Dreamer Under Arms. By F. G. Hurrell. New York: E. P. Dutton & Company.

Fortune. By Albert Payson Terhune. New York: Doubleday, Page & Company.

The Manse at Barren Rocks. By Albert Benjamin Cunningham. New York: George H. Doran Company.

The Magnificent Ambersons. By Booth Tarkington. New York: Doubleday, Page & Company.

"A Dreamer Under Arms" owes part of its effectiveness, we should say, to its being the work not of a professional novelist, but of a thoughtful man with a good instinct for story-telling and with a story that he very much wants to tell. His preface expresses a modest opinion of the book as "a humble effort to present this great world war in the terms of an inward individual experience." He seems almost unaware that a similar effort has been made, more or less successfully, by many others. And indeed, no one has done it in his way, or more sincerely in any way. The main figure, Marshman, is a critic and dilettante. He is slow to feel the pressure of the war upon him personally. He is not a fighter, feels himself fit for better work, and so on. But the pressure is there, and a woman's word focusses it; he enlists as a private in "Kitchener's Mob," becomes "Shanks" to his rough comrades, and finds among them the stuff of human nature and of dreams. He is to do his part in the fighting, but the substance of the story concerns the life of the soldier when he is not under the spur of action. There is the great cause, the big job; but that is not all of army life. The special office of this story is to emphasize the strength and beauty of the bonds that so often link the fighting man to his comrades. Our dreamer is a gentleman, and finds others about him who might be his natural companions; but chance or fate has given him another set of friends. There is one Morgan in particular, a Welchman with a fine musical talent and a good heart, but given to drink. He becomes pathetically devoted to "Shanks," and it appears that through their friendship he may be made a man. It is a study in comradeship and its ripening influence, done in a style none the less attractive for its quaint bookish flavor.

With all respect for the vernacular, one may still doubt if it is the duty of every man to write as the other fellow talks. Besides the short-story and special-article performers in the *Saturday Evening Post*, we have a large group of novelists trained in that tradition. Whether or not they have been through the mill of journalism, they are all tarred with that brush. Messrs. Rupert Hughes, Henry Kitchell Webster, Samuel Merwin, Samuel G. Blythe, and Albert Payson Terhune are names that come to mind in this connection. Mr. Terhune's "Fortune" is a typical example of their kind of work. Its style is extremely chatty, dashing, and inconsequential. It makes a vigorous "bluff" at sticking close to "the facts of life." And it produces, as a rabbit from a hat—an altogether conventional city romance. Its details of the "newspaper game," its parade of intimacy with the "half-way" existence of the city flat-dwellers, are supposed to blind us to its substance as a story. And the illusion is further propped up by passages decrying conventional romance: "On the stage and in fiction, it is deemed true art to lead up by logical and cumulative processes to a crisis. Real life is so much less artistic than stage or fiction, that most of its crises tumble upon us without a note of warning. And the logically inevitable crisis has a delightful way of failing to arrive at all." And so on. But what is the story? A penniless young reporter meets a beautiful New York heiress. In three days they have made a runaway marriage and settled in a flat. Her brother, who is a cave-man and her guardian, casts her off: in something under seven years she will come into an inheritance of a million and a quarter. In the meantime, "You can both starve to death, for all of me," roars the cave-man. So they set out humbly to do that, on Brant's precarious takings as a newspaper man. Of course it doesn't occur either to the heiress or to the newspaper man or to any legal adviser of either that they can readily raise the wind on the strength of the young wife's prospects; and we are required to worry with them over their lack of luxuries, and to hear all about how hard it is to live on fifty dollars a week in New York. Brant Errol writes a novel that he cannot sell, whereupon Eve, being eighteen and equipped, as far as her conversation shows, with the brains of an ordinary school-girl, goes and writes a novel on the sly, of such realistic sincerity and mellow idealism that it is snapped up at once by the most distinguished of metropolitan publishers, and further made profitable by way of the serial and movie markets. Then Eve and her cave-man guardian are reconciled, and the million and a quarter comes to hand. Brant is too proud to be supported, and goes back to his job on the newspaper (which has discharged him as a poor man, and takes him back as the husband of an heiress—but this for some reason does not touch his sensitive honor). But the money is still a barrier between them, and to get rid of it Eve deliberately throws it away on Wall Street: after which everybody is perfectly happy.

From this kind of thing to a record like "The Manse at Barren Rocks" is a step from the popular theatre into the open. Here is a vernacular not of the streets but of the soil, the homely Americanism of the backwoods; here is a chronicle without artifice, a work of ingenuous localism honestly and lovingly performed, so as to add a tiny chapter to the Great American Novel that is being so steadily added to of late by such hands as this. The time is not remote, but in this corner of the hills of West Virginia, frontier conditions linger. The Baptist circuit preacher who lives in the shabby manse at Barren Rocks has to be huntsman and farmer as well. His wife must practice all the ingenuities of economy in a household through which only a few dollars in money pass in the course of the year, and the children have to do their full part in the common labor; but this does not mean unhappiness. The drudgery and privations of the frontiersman's lot have been over-emphasized of late by Mr. Hamlin Garland and other persons who, though born on the land, are city-dwellers by nature. Others, like Professor Showerman, have rather deliberately sentimentalized the "simple life" of the old-fashioned farmer. The present chronicle, one feels, interprets that life under average conditions without fear or favor. It is the story of a boyhood which is part of a family life made wholesome and contented by a sportsmanlike acceptance of conditions, an eager enjoyment of natural pleasures, and a strong affection that binds everything. It has been the fashion recently to dwell upon the strain and hypocrisies of the family relation. After all, many of us, like the writer of this book, have experienced it as a tolerably honest and pleasant thing. Anti-Victorianism to the contrary, there are graver misfortunes in life for most of us than brothers and sisters, or even mothers and fathers. The filial portraits of the pious yet merry father and the girlish devoted mother which are perhaps the most notable part of this book are touched with a tenderness that recalls the "Margaret Ogilvy" of Barrie in what no doubt we should call his Victorian days. "The Magnificent Ambersons" is a different sort of family story, a study of caste more than of clan. The Ambersons typify that mushroom aristocracy of the Middle West which for a generation or two after their settlement days, up to the time when town life ceased to develop and was brusquely superseded by city conditions, held a well-nigh feudal state. Land was the basis of their wealth. As a landholder with the gumption to develop and market part of his holding, Major Amberson founds the family magnificence in the early seventies. It reaches its height in the next generation. In the third it is already doomed. But in grandson George's boyhood its semblance remains, and he lives into early manhood under the glamour of his inherited majesty. Our whole business in this book, in so far as it is a story, is to see how he is going to get his "come-upance." It is a difficult thing for him to get, a most kaiserly youth, in whose blood flows pride and surety of his divine right. "Riff-raff" is his favorite comment upon those who have not been born Ambersons, or do not at least bow down to the sacred race. He is in truth a sad young ass and egotist, and we cannot feel that Mr. Tarkington has done him justice, as a hero, in failing to giving him at least one tolerable trait. It is not quite decent that we should despise him with such gusto, or watch so eagerly for his downfall. That comes in due season, with the loss of his sweetheart, of his money, and finally of even the shadow of his social prestige. Then indeed we are to see that there was something in "the blood." It is a fascinating picture of a national phase already past.

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Russia as Seen by Americans

Unchained Russia. By Charles Edward Russell. New York: D. Appleton & Co. $1.50.

The Red Heart of Russia. By Bessie Beatty. New York: The Century Co. $2.

Six Red Months in Russia. By Louise Bryant. New York: George H. Doran Co. $2.

SINCE the Bolshevist coup of last November, our newspapers have been full of stories of atrocities, robberies, and assassinations perpetrated by the Bolsheviks and their Red Guards. Day after day we read that hundreds, nay, thousands are executed without trial, that prisons are overcrowded, and that women jailers delight in heaping cruelties and indignities upon their innocent victims. There has apparently been a consistent attempt on the part of individuals and organizations pursuing their own personal ends to poison the mind of America concerning the character and methods of Russia's rulers. Our present state of feeling regarding Russia is the result of a minimum of information, a maximum of misinterpretation, and an almost unparalleled amount of downright lying. Under such circumstances, any book which with reasonable intelligence and information honestly attempts to lay the facts of Russia's situation before us possesses real value, even though it be not of great intrinsic importance.

As a member of the Root Mission, Charles Edward Russell, had opportunity to observe and obtain a certain amount of first-hand information; as a social revolutionist, he naturally writes with a sympathetic understanding of Russia's problems. In "Unchained Russia" he unfolds illuminating pictures of the state of affairs both past and present. His description of conditions in the army and navy before the revolution makes one wonder that any officers have remained alive, instead of being slain by the soldiers and sailors whom they so terribly maltreated in their days of power. The pages dealing with the Provisional Government give one an insight into Russia's state at that time, without which no intelligent understanding of the Bolshevik coup and subsequent developments is possible. Mr. Russell does a service in pointing out that the Russian peasants, although illiterate, are not so grossly ignorant as is commonly supposed, that they have had considerable experience in local self-government, the *mir*, and that the Soviet is a logical outgrowth of their village commune. The author dwells upon the causes which have alienated Russia from the Allies and America —the diplomatic blunders, and the wild tales of shallow and prejudiced newsmongers, which German propagandists utilized to great advantage.

The most striking part of the book, to the misinformed and unsuspecting American reader, is the chapter about the Bolsheviks. Mr. Russell portrays them as impractical idealists sincerely convinced that all the ills of modern society can at once be cured by the abolition of the capitalist system and the immediate erection of an industrial democracy in which all industries shall be owned by the community and in which all men and women shall earn their living by useful labor. In his association with leading Bolsheviks Mr. Russell found them cultured, pleasant and interesting, and possessed of none of the wicked traits attributed to them by our newspapers.

The Bolshevik was no *sans culotte* and nothing could have been farther from his cherished aims than a Reign of Terror. He was, in fact, the most interesting and important outgrowth of awakened Russia; he was a sign of the Russian mentality, exotic but genuine; he was for the time being the true word of Russian thought, he held for some months the fate of the world in his grasp, and it was deplorable that while there was ceaseless but all wasted assault upon him—as if he could be overturned in Russia by attacking him in Jonesville, Pennsylvania,—there was almost no effort to understand him.

Describing the corruption and incompetence of the autocratic régime and the supreme disorganization it left after its downfall, Mr. Russell points out that the present administrative chaos can not be charged to the Bolshevist Government. "No zeal or industry could in a month or a year cope with such conditions. Let a man be as capable an administrator as lives, he could not quickly displace all of the left-overs of the old system; he could not readily root up all the old methods and supply new." "Unchained Russia" may be commended to those who wish to comprehend the Revolution and its natural outcome, Bolshevism.

How the Bolsheviks put their theories into practice is told by Bessie Beatty, whose vividly written "Red Heart of Russia" is an interesting record of personal experiences before and after the Revolution. The book lays no claim to being a profound analysis of the causes and principles of the Russian Revolution, but it is valuable as an observer's impartial account of the first steps of the workmen's and peasants' government. As is to be expected the book contains inaccuracies, sometimes amusing ones, but they do not materially impair the value of the work. Some of the stories contrast strangely with those we read daily, and one vainly looks for anything which might even remotely resemble the blood-curdling deeds of the Red Guards.

Immediately upon assuming the reins of government, the Bolsheviks put into effect the land decree, passed earlier by the Congress of Soviets, which abolished the landlords' property in land and confiscated all landed estates, excepting the small holdings of peasants and Cossacks. The Bolsheviks also declared all mineral wealth of the country, the forests, and the waterways the property of the State. Shortly afterwards they passed the labor-control decree, which applied to all industries employing labor, and provided for control by committees representing laborers and employers, called "organs of labor control." The control extended to all branches of the industries affected, and included even their finances. Laws were passed regulating the labor of women and children, and social insurance against injuries, sickness, and non-employment was provided. Divorce laws were simplified, and church marriages declared personal and private matters, the State recognizing only civil marriages.

A liberal decree on education, setting forth a democratic program in that domain, was promulgated.

The Soviet declared that, whatever other governmental activities were curtailed, "the expenditure on public instruction is the honor and glory of every people. Every truly democratic power in the domain of instruction of the country where ignorance and illiteracy are reigning, must take as its first aim the struggle against darkness. It must obtain in the shortest time a popular literation by means of an organization of a system of schools answering the first principles of contemporary pedagogy, and it must introduce a general, obligatory, and gratuitous education."

The old courts of law were abolished, and in their stead Revolutionary Tribunals were created. The author's account of the trial of Countess Panina, Minister of Public Welfare in the Provisional Government, shows the working of this Bolshevist institution. The Countess was charged with misappropriation of 93,000 rubles from the funds of the Ministry. After a half-hour's deliberation, the judges returned, and the President of the Tribunal read the verdict:

The Military Revolutionary Tribunal, in the name of the revolutionary nation, having examined the case with regard to the removal by Citizeness Panina of a sum of about 93,000 rubles from the funds of the Ministry of Public Education, decides (1) that Citizeness Panina shall remain under arrest until she returns to the Commissary of Public Education the national money taken by her and (2) the Revolutionary Tribunal regards Citizeness Panina as guilty of acting in opposition to the national authority, but, in view of the accused's past, confines itself to holding Citizeness Panina up to the reprehension of society.

"Six Red Months in Russia," by Louise Bryant, is a collection of articles, rather than a book, about contemporary Russian life and institutions, Bolshevist leaders, and their ideals and purposes. They appear to have been written in haste, as is indicated by numerous errors. Moreover, while they convey the impression that the author knows Russian, her use of that language does not confirm the impression. Notwithstanding all these shortcomings, the collection is interesting, and it contains a wealth of information about the Soviet government and the various political parties in Russia. The author witnessed the Bolshevist revolution. She had ready access to Lenine, Trotzky, and other persons prominent in present-day Russia. Of Lenine she says: "Our most deep-rooted prejudice against Lenine is that he is accused of being pro-German. I could never find evidence of that; I tried very hard. All I could find out about Lenine forced me to the opposite conclusion.

Miss Bryant's impressions of Russia, gathered in the midst of the turmoil of the Revolution, should aid to a proper understanding of the Bolshevist movement.

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Spain in the Old World and the New

The Rise of the Spanish Empire in the Old World and in the New. By Roger Bigelow Merriman. New York: The Macmillan Company. Two volumes. $7.50.

Rise of the Spanish-American Republics as Told in the Lives of Their Liberators. By William Spence Robertson. New York: D. Appleton and Company. $3.

AMONG the countries of Europe that played a great rôle in history none is so little known to the English-speaking world as Spain. More than to any other circumstance, probably, this is due to the influence of certain standard works that emphasize eminent personalities at the expense of the Spanish people themselves. In their biographies of Ferdinand and Isabella, Charles V and Philip II, Robertson and Prescott fixed a norm by which subsequent writers on European history have been guided. Until these rulers appeared, Spain was an obscure region to be more or less ignored.

The publication of Professor Merriman's work sets up a new model. Here Spain itself, and the realms it controlled in the Mediterranean and beyond the sea, are the primary themes. With all due regard for the deeds of kings, the prevailing thought is directed to the lands and peoples under their sway, to the course of development from the beginnings of the reconquest from the Moors through the greater conquest of a New World down to the close of the sixteenth century. Of the entire work, to be completed in four volumes, the two under consideration carry the story to the death of Ferdinand.

Although they cover chronologically much the same ground as the treatise by Burke, their mode of treatment is so utterly different and their content so superior that the predecessor must be relegated forthwith to the limbo of the forgotten. Into this repository of antiquarian fragments and others of its kind Professor Merriman wisely has refrained from looking. He has sought inspiration rather in Rafael Altamira's monumental history of Spain and of Spanish civilization. The result is a scholarly blend of narration, interpretation, and description—the story along with an account of contemporaneous institutions and culture—which characterizes also the Spanish master's presentation of his country's record among the nations.

Justly potent as this source of inspiration has been, Professor Merriman's work reveals a range of research stretching far and wide among printed materials and not a few in manuscript. His elaborate footnotes and detailed bibliographies prove this in liberal measure. Yet even so, the general reader need have no fear of the ponderosity of style or dullness in handling which are popularly supposed to be the inevitable accompaniments of professorial erudition. On the contrary, the vigor, freshness, clarity, and ease of the treatment, coupled with the convincing assurance that denotes a thorough grasp of the subject, will arouse a genuine interest and hold it.

In the single chapter on Spanish America, however, where the author enters upon a field of investigation quite separate from that of Spain itself, he is manifestly on less familiar ground. Indispensable though an antecedent knowledge of the history of the mother country is to any proper understanding of the career of its children in the New World, and admirably as his work has furnished it, Professor Merriman does not appear to have made comparative colonization and the special problems involved in the occupation of America objects of any such amount of study as that which he has given to his major theme. That the Castilian empire of the Indies was an historical sequence to an Aragonese "empire" in the Mediterranean, is a plausible theory; but its acceptance cannot be carried to the point of believing that the connection between the two was vital enough to justify neglect of branches of learning without which an adequate comprehension of the achievements of Spain beyond the seas is unattainable.

Professor Robertson's volume on the overthrow of Spanish power in America calls forth observations of a different order. Here an attempt is made to deal with one of the most complicated episodes in history. About it nothing extensive that can be termed scientific or impartial has ever been written. What has been published certainly does not warrant a presumption that the subject is one about which a reasonable amount of current information already exists. The very names, forsooth, of the chief participants in the struggle are not especially reminiscent to folk who dwell beyond the confines of Spanish America.

Despite the familiar fact that biographies of even the best known of national heroes are apt to be dubious guides to the mazes of a mighty transformation in the conditions of any particular group of mankind, Professor Robertson, nevertheless, has seen fit to use this form of exposition in relating the story of a series of revolutions that had a multiplicity of leaders, a kaleidoscopic variance of scene, and an extraordinary assemblage of divergent factors which transport a bewildered reader from one country and one period of time to another, without affording him much chance to get any systematic notion of what it was all about. Neither the prefixing of an "historical background" of twenty-five pages, covering the three centuries of Spanish rule, nor the appending of a "conclusion" of seventeen really enables him to find his bearings.

Of credentials of erudition, patent not only in the text but in the preface and bibliography, there is an abundance. The individual biographies, indeed, have been composed with a painstaking regard for substantial accuracy, even if the gift of imagination fails. They are unquestionably the best of their kind, whether or not the reader may choose to carp at their meticulosity or at the minor point of the author's use of the name of the greatest of the liberators in the form, "de Bolivar." To the student of the period they are most valuable; but they do not portray the rise of the Spanish-American republics as a process in historical evolution.

The Budget

The Financial System of Great Britain. By William F. Willoughby, Westel W. Willoughby, and Samuel McCune Lindsay. New York: D. Appleton and Company.

The National Budget System. By Charles Wallace Collins. New York: The Macmillan Company.

The Budget. By Réné Stourm. New York: D. Appleton and Company.

THE word budget has never had an agreeable sound in American ears. It implies excessive care-taking and hints at economy, and in the past we have not felt the need of either. Besides, a budget would deprive our Congressmen of too many prescriptive rights. The menace to the pork barrel is too great.

Tempora mutantur. The voice of the war tax gatherer is now heard in the land, as insistent as that of the horse-leech's daughter. This year we are paying Federal income and profits taxation estimated at nearly $8,000,000,000, against ordinary receipts of about $1,000,000,000 four or five years ago. The interest and sinking fund charges on the debt created by the war, to say nothing of other more or less permanent expenditures necessitated by it, constitute a problem in American finance which no one can approach lightly. A more careful ordering of our affairs is inevitable, and the day of the budget may be near at hand.

This institution, though new to us, has been thoroughly tested elsewhere, and has amply justified its existence. The evidence of this fact is clearly presented in the works under consideration. Those who lack time or inclination for an extended investigation of the subject will find Mr. Collins's one hundred and fifty pages of real service. The other two works, which are published under the auspices of the Institute for Government Research, appeal to a more limited audience. Each is a monument of research, and neither can by any stretch of imagination be called "light reading." Mr. Gladstone may have been able to make the budget as interesting as a novel, but the authors of the works before us do not possess that faculty. It may be said of Mr. Stourm, however, that he is as easy reading as could reasonably be expected in view of the magnitude of his subject and the microscopic treatment he has accorded it. Messrs. Willoughby and Lindsay, on the other hand, are as dry as a chip, which is unfortunate, as no one who is doing more than skimming the surface of the subject in hand can afford to deny them his closest attention.

Mr. Stourm gives it as his personal opinion that England has outdistanced all other nations in financial management, commending especially the spirit and purpose of the British rule of 1706, which places the responsibility for the initiation

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of appropriation measures solely upon the executive branch of the Government, and deprives the House of Commons of the power to add to the demands made upon the Treasury by the Executive. This is the view Necker took more than a century ago when he said: "The National Assembly made a mistake by requiring its committees to give an account of the condition of finances. This is a mission which the National Assembly should have left to the chief of the Department of Public Treasury, reserving only to the commissioners appointed by the Assembly the right of revision and control of accounts."

The same mistake was made when the American Republic began its career. There was an initial fear that the large financial responsibilities of the Treasury Department could not safely be entrusted to a single person. The discussions attending the establishment of the department are exceedingly interesting. The original draft of the bill authorized the Secretary "to devise and report plans for the improvement and management of the revenue." This was the plan adopted by the Continental Congress in 1781 in establishing the superintendency of finance, and again in 1784 in creating the revenue board. The debate on the bill of 1789 indicated, however, a fear that a continuation of this policy would not only give the Secretary too much influence in Congress, but would also conflict with the constitutional provision that revenue bills should originate in the House of Representatives. Consequently, though the Secretary was directed to report budget estimates, the responsibility of the budget was placed upon Congress.

The English have not left it entirely to ancient statutes to safeguard the rule made in 1706; for on March 26, 1865, the Commons included the following in the order of the day: "The House shall not admit any proposition tending to obtain any appropriation whatsoever, nor shall it take action on any motion which would involve any expenditure to be charged against the revenues of the State, other than the requisitions formulated by the Crown." Thus, in the language of Sir Stafford Northcote, "The Crown demands, the Commons grant, and the Lords consent."

As Mr. Stourm aptly says, however, the rising tide of public expenditure goes around the dam constituted by the budget, if it does not break through it. Parliament, while keeping the letter of the law promulgated in the rules of 1706 and 1865, has, from time to time, shown a tendency to violate the spirit. In 1887 Mr. Goschen declared that it would be desirable if the members of Parliament would abstain from demanding the assistance of the Ministers "for all matters in which they happen to be interested, for purchasing of pictures, furnishing museums, establishing technical schools and colleges, for fortifying the colonies, etc." This strain is continued by subsequent finance ministers, notably Sir Vernon Harcourt, in 1893, and Sir Michael Hicks-Beach in 1897.

The limitation of parliamentary initiative in budget matters is effective only as it is supported by public opinion. The Commons, for example, can vote an address or pass a resolution involving for the Executive the moral obligation eventually to ask for additional appropriations; or the members of Parliament, particularly by individual request, can call for the submitting of one or another estimate of expenditures by the Minister. Yet this means nothing more than that the Crown, acting through its Ministers, is, while still possessed of full power of initiative in the matter of the budget, quite as much bound by public opinion as Parliament itself. The important fact is that the House of Commons continues essentially to abide by its sixteenth-century rules not to vote money except on the recommendation of the Crown.

It is hardly necessary, declare Messrs. Willoughby and Lindsay, to point out the overwhelming importance of the principle embodied in these rules as a means of preventing ill-advised and wasteful expenditure of public funds. At one stroke it renders impossible the enormous abuses which prevail in the United States arising from the right possessed by individual members of Congress to propose and secure the consideration of measures calling for an appropriation of public funds. The exercise of that right, in conjunction with the device of "log-rolling," has not only given rise to the recurrent scandals of the "pork-barrel" public buildings and river and harbor bills, but has destroyed all possibility of framing a consistent scheme of public expenditure. The enormous charges due to the war make it imperative that the procedure for drawing up such a scheme be promptly elaborated.

Notes

JOHN Lane and Company will publish during November: "From Czar to Bolshevik," by E. P. Stebbing; "Portraits of Whistler," by A. E. Gallatin; "A Not Impossible Religion," by Silvanus P. Thompson; "Great Testimony Against Scientific Cruelty," by Stephen Coleridge; "Abraham Lincoln," by Francis Grierson; "Pushing Water," by Eric Dawson; "Corn from Olde Fieldes," by Eleanor Brougham; "The Vagabond and Other Poems," by R. C. Lehmann; "Forward, March!" by Angela Morgan.

Within the next few weeks D. Appleton and Company will publish: "The Marne," by Edith Wharton; "The Story of General Pershing," and "Fighters Young Americans Want to Know," by Everett T. Tomlinson; "The Writing and Reading of Verse," by Clarence E. Andrews. Among the juveniles announced are: "Running Fox," by Elmer R. Gregor; "Clyde Corners," by Ellen Douglas Deland.

Juveniles to be published this week by E. P. Dutton and Company include: "Ducky Daddle's Party," by Bertha Parker Hall. "A Ride on a Rocking Horse," by R. A. Marshall.

QUITE the most important announcement in the library way is that of the new and complete catalogue of the John Carter Brown Library, in Providence, R. I. As a collection of Americana, published before 1801, the Library has been surpassed in number and in quality only by the collection made by James Lenox. In certain features, such as Spanish works and pamphlets of the period of the stamp act and American Revolution, the Brown library has been the stronger. But the Lenox collection has gone into the New York Public Library, and the one library of Americana which could be mentioned in the same class—the Church Library—has been annexed to the general library of Mr. Henry E. Huntington. The Brown Library thus stands alone as devoted to Americana, and its concentration has already given it a unique position among American libraries, and permitted its free development in its special field. No catalogue of the Lenox Library has ever been issued, and the much sought earlier catalogue of the Brown Library, issued before 1883, and for private distribution, gave only a selection from the titles then in the library. The Committee of Management announce the issue of the first part of a new catalogue, which will include all the contents of the Brown Library, and will be completed in about ten parts, at the rate of two parts a year. It is published by the Library.

THE tangled and dishonorable story of our long diplomatic struggle for west Florida is unravelled by Isaac Joslin Cox, in "The West Florida Controversy, 1798-1813" (Johns Hopkins Press). It has been rare indeed that a scholar has been able to see his own country and countrymen in the uncolored light of truth and so the world has been misled, especially the people of Germany. One has but to recall Mommsen's history of Rome or Mahan's "Influence of the Sea Power" to recognize the truth of this. From the day that Jefferson knew that Louisiana was to become a part of the United States till the end of the second war with England, the American representatives in London, Paris, and Madrid, the petty officials along the southern border, and the higher officials in New Orleans and Natchez played the game of diplomacy as it was played at the time, and as it has been played since by all who wish to drive unfair and narrowly selfish bargains. It was a part of Jefferson's policy to annex both the Floridas and Cuba. If he could accomplish this by diplomacy, well; if not, then he would risk war or engage in the European scramble in the hope that the waters of American rivers might flow unvexed into the Gulf. In fact, as Professor Cox makes very plain, this lower Mississippi region was to young America just what the Netherlands have been to France or Germany for a thousand years. And Spaniards, Englishmen and Frenchmen saw clearly enough that whoever held the mouth of the Mississippi, the Tombigbee, or the straits of Florida, held the whip hand over the growing republic which most Europeans regarded with so much jealousy. If the author fails at any point of his careful and detailed account, it is just at this juncture. It was not alone the rich sugar lands of West Florida or the interests simply of the multiplying cotton farmers of the lower South that swept the idealistic mind of Jefferson so far

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from its accustomed moorings, but that problem of the control of American rivers then so much more important than it would be in this day of railroads and rapid transit.

Still, the evasions of all the Presidents of the Virginia dynasty, the positive wrong of seizing Mobile in 1805, and the shifty conduct of most of the local representatives of the Government for a period of fifteen years make a bill of indictment against the early republic that none of us can read with any degree of satisfaction. But it was the frontiersmen, after all, who solved the problem. They seized lands, intimidated Spanish officials, and finally seized Baton Rouge, and would never let go till the United States made settlement with European claimants. Moreover, the rapid increase of American squatters and border ruffians, not unlike those who later overran Kansas, compelled all the Governments concerned to a settlement. It is a good and a wholesome account which we now have of this difficult phase of our history. Apparently every detail and every individual that was in any way concerned has been considered. In fact the criticism, if any, that may be passed upon the work must come from those who do not wish to know too much about a subject. There is a limit to the number of facts that the human mind can absorb, and even the most conscientious of historians must not overlook this consideration. And, as has already been said, some allowance ought to be made for the importance of American control of that strategic region in any complete estimate of the diplomacy of Jefferson and his immediate followers.

COUNTESS OLGA LEUTRUM, whose "Court and Diplomacy in Germany and Austria" (Lippincott; $3.50) has just appeared, addresses herself principally to Russia and the Russians, for whom she had inherited from her mother a deep admiration and affection, and who "of all the Allies most need enlightenment as to the true and intimate causes of the war, and the long and treacherous preparations of Germany and Austria-Hungary." She had, as she says, grown up in an atmosphere saturated with international politics, having been present at the first Hague peace conference with her father, who held the post of Austro-Hungarian Minister to Holland. Here she gathered much of the material of the present book, and heard enough to convince her that, while the Entente nations were honestly anxious to lay the foundations of a durable peace, the Central Powers were cynically bent on making war inevitable on the day when it should suit them to declare it. After her father's death, the author spent some years in the service of the Archduchess Isabelle, where she was confirmed in her conviction that Germany and Austria-Hungary were bent upon war. During this period, she was the object of a good deal of ill-natured raillery on account of her outspoken pro-Russian and anti-German sentiments. Such treatment, after all, is not surprising when we consider the treatment meted out in our own country to persons expressing unpopular views on questions of international politics.

PALESTINE, says Albert M. Hyamson, in "Palestine: The Rebirth of an Ancient People" (Knopf; $1.50), is not a desert, but a deserted land. As the land of promise it had, in fact, been flowing with milk and honey. Fertility, as well as prosperity, has been the effect of good government; the desert, of bad. A survey of Palestine under the Romans, the Byzantines, and the Moslems, the Frankish kings and the Turks, demonstrates this point, and the narrative of its colonization by the Jews drives it home. Just prior to the war, such prosperity as had come to Palestine, Mr. Hyamson shows, was the direct effect of Jewish colonization, with its errors, stupidities, and weaknesses, no less than its pioneering heroism, its social vision, and its piety. That colonization brought prosperity to the Arab fellah and economic independence to the Jew who undertook it. It renewed Hebrew as a living language, it revealed the practicability and the ideal possibilities of the Jewish resettlement. The declaration of the British Government in favor of such a resettlement, the successive endorsement of that declaration by France and Italy, its implication in the President's message of January 8 last, put the dream within range of immediate realization. Even more significant is its endorsement by the British Labor party, by the American Federation for Labor and Democracy, and by the Inter-Allied Conference of Socialist and Labor parties. These endorsements suggest the possibility of an establishment of fundamental democracy in Palestine, which is in the hearts and minds of most of the Zionists, and which is the most enticing and glamorous aspect of this extraordinary adventure. Mr. Hyamson's book was written before Mr. Balfour made his declaration. It is, however, an excellent guide to the historic past and the future prospects of Palestine and the Jewish people.

THOSE who have known of Dr. Groszmann's many years of enthusiastic labor as a teacher of atypical youth and as a member of societies for the study of exceptional children will be sorry to see his name attached to "The Exceptional Child" (Scribners; $2.50). Neither the clinical psychologist nor the general reader will find it a contribution to either the quantitative or the qualitative work on the subject. It is merely a hodge-podge of pedagogical, legal, sociological, and medical banalities, apparently the result of years of scrapbook making on the part of the author. Instead of the scientific citations which a pretentious bibliography leads one to expect, the collection is enriched principally by reference to some "report which appeared in the public press some years ago." The earnest seeker after scientific guidance towards remedial measures in the treatment of the feeble-minded, the neurotic, and the often-misunderstood "bright child" is confronted with such statements as this: " 'The home is for the child,' said Rev. —— at a meeting of the Congregational Club of Minneapolis several years ago." In the chapter called "Eugenic Considerations" the proper atmosphere is created by a quotation from Shakespeare and by those magical expressions, "the sacrament of matrimony," and "unwelcome children." Among the supposed scientific contributions of the volume is a new and puzzling terminology. There are, it seems, besides normal school children—which class, it appears, embraces only 25 per cent. of the children of the United States—pseudo-atypical, subnormal, abnormal, and primitive types. These primitives are hard to differentiate from the feeble-minded. Both represent an arrested development, but the primitives somehow got stuck in one of those "culture epoch" stages about which respectable pedagogy has been rather silent of late. The expert consulting psychologist will be able to form a just estimate of this book. It is the would-be well-informed teacher, or the minister who conducts the civic forum on Sunday evenings, who should be warned against it. For a far more authoritative statement of the problem reference may be had to Edgar A. Doll's "Clinical Studies in Feeble-Mindedness" (Badger; $2.50), which is an excellent introductory study of the somatic and mental characteristics of the feeble-minded and the neurotic. The criteria for the diagnosis of idiot, imbecile, and moron are explained with many photographs and descriptions of clinical types. A distinction is drawn between the potentially feeble-minded and the potentially normal. The author follows the recognized procedure of clinical psychologists in interpreting the results of mental tests in terms of norms of performance.

THE central doctrine of Christian D. Larson's latest book, "Healing Yourself" (Crowell; $1), is that "it is absolutely impossible for any form of disease, physical or mental, organic or functional, to enter the human system so long as that system is abundantly supplied with vital energy. And it is absolutely impossible for any form of disease to remain in the human system after a full supply of vital energy has been provided for every part of that system." Having laid down this law in his first chapter, the author devotes the rest of his work to instructions on the maintenance of a full stock of vital energy, which is to be achieved largely by keeping both body and soul well nourished and by cultivating the will to be well. Along the lines of the so-called New Thought is also Mrs. Lionel Guest's collection of original aphorisms to which she gives the title, "Casting Out Fear" (John Lane; 75 cents). Her thesis is that fear is the root of all evils. Fear, she says, "is a canker of rapid and dangerous growth. The liar, the coward, the harlot, the lunatic, are all the results of the paralysis of fear." Having said so much, she devotes the remaining twenty-two brief chapters to epigrammatic discussion of the different *phobias* which flesh is heir to, including, for example, the fear of public opinion, in which connection she says: "The young man begins drinking because he is afraid to be thought a prig. He becomes a drunkard and then a liar through the fear of being found out, and the nation turns good food into poison for his benefit. The

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girl educated in fear yields her lips to her admirer for fear of being thought a prude; and from this beginning the women's hospitals in our large cities are crowded." Of fear in general, she says happily: "Christ, in the country of the Gadarenes, cast the devil out of a man, and the evil spirit entered a herd of swine that ran away down a steep place and fell into the sea. Now men—or swine—possessed by the devil of fear, by whatever name we choose to call it, are headed for destruction, and can only be saved by the power of divine love."

THE amateur photographer who does his own developing, printing, and enlarging soon becomes proficient in these operations and begins to interest himself in the possibilities of pictorial photography. The laboratory side of this branch of the art is admirably treated in "Pictorial Photography, Its Principles and Practice" (Lippincott; $2.50), by Paul L. Anderson. The theory of each of the various processes and the actual manipulations are clearly described. The author does not, however, attempt to take up the important question of composition; in fact, the photographs chosen for reproduction indicate that he is no judge of it. Under "Apparatus" the question of the lens, the type of camera, and the plate, are discussed thoroughly and impartially. This will bring relief to the photographer who has become bewildered by the conflicting claims of rival manufacturers. A chapter is devoted to the manipulation of negatives, including retouching, reduction, and intensification. Color photography is of less importance to the pictorialist and therefore is not given much space. Many an amateur does not realize that some of the finest prints, from an artistic point of view, are those made on paper which the photographer sensitizes himself. Perhaps the most valuable part of Mr. Anderson's book is that devoted to this branch of the art. The principal printing mediums used to produce pictorial effects are taken up in such detail, and the methods of using them are so described that no one should have any difficulty in keeping on the right track.

WRITES Philip Hone in his diary, "While I was shaving this morning at eight o'clock, I witnessed from the front window an encounter in the street nearly opposite, between William C. Bryant and William L. Stone, the former one of the editors of the *Evening Post*, the latter the editor of the *Commercial Advertiser*. The former commenced the attack by striking Stone over the head with a cow-skin; after a few blows the men closed and the whip was wrested away from Bryant and carried off by Stone." This happened on April 20 of the year of grace 1831. Such little events, witnessed from those same windows where now the *Tribune* editor smokes the pipe of peace while William Randolph Hearst crosses City Hall Park have a fascination for almost every reader. They have been neatly gathered in an interesting volume entitled "Fifth Avenue" (Dodd, Mead; $2.50), by Arthur Bartlett Maurice.

ON a hillside at Montesquieu—Avantès, in the department of Ariège, Count Bergonen has recently discovered another prehistoric cave with most interesting works of art. Also on his estate is the cave of the Duc d'Audoubert where the Count had already discovered what is perhaps the most extraordinary instance of this prehistoric art-work—a group of bisons in clay. He proposes to call the new situs "Three Brothers' Cavern," because he has carried out its exploration with his three sons during their furloughs from the war. The walls of the cavern are adorned with number of "engravings" belonging to the end of the Palaeolithic Age, in the Aurignac and Magdalenian epochs. They represent bison, reindeer, horses, wild goats, and bears—and, what is indeed rare, human representations, with a lion and birds. The lion is pricked with little arrows—an arrangement which, it is now suggested, was the prehistoric man's way of casting a spell before going on his hunt. The human forms are strange and ill drawn, as in previous discoveries, whereas the animals show graphic resemblance. In one of these engravings on the rock surface of the cave, certain details are picked out with black and seem to represent a human being masked and covered with some animal's skin—which, it is also suggested, may have been for a ritual dance. Much interest has been roused by this discovery, and it is being studied, in comparison with similar discoveries, by such authorities as MM. Salmon Reinach, Dieulafoy, and Pottier, of the *Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*.

Art

A Russian Painter and New York Water Colorists

THE Brooklyn Museum does not let us forget that art means something more than pretty picture making; it is not afraid to take the initiative; it is as willing to find a place for work upon which time has not passed its verdict as for work that all the world now acknowledges to be great. If last spring it was showing the French masters who half a century or so ago were the rebels of art, this autumn it introduces to America a Russian painter who is identified with the movements that seem the rebellions of to-day. Whatever may be thought of the art of Boris Anisfeld, whether it charms or whether it repels, at least it is suggestive, not only in itself but in all it represents of modern tendencies, and the exhibition is a contrast to the collections of commonplace that we have not often with us.

Mr. Christian Brinton fills his Introduction to the Catalogue with a prodigious array of Russian names, a rhapsody on the Slavic temperament, and an amazing deal of fine writing in order to explain Anisfeld and his art. But Anisfeld explains himself far better and more intelligibly in his own language—the language of art—on canvas or on paper. What one sees there is the result not so much of his being a Slav as of the fact that he is living and working to-day. He has an unusually strong sense of color, so strong as to verge upon the barbaric, and this may be a part of his Slavic inheritance. But the use he makes of color, the subjects he selects to express with it, and the manner of expressing them, might have been the same had he never a drop of Slavic blood in his veins. They are essentially modern, essentially international. There may be a streak of mysticism in his Golden Gods and his Buddhas. But so there is in the work of painters of other nationalities, and so there has been since the wave of Rosicrucianism swept over the New Salon in the nineties and reached as far as the shores of practical England. He may have adopted a formula that seems defiance of the old traditions of the schools, but Cézanne struggling with his want of training and talent, Gauguin, uncertain and unequal, Van Gogh, mad and haunted, prepared the way for the Post-Impressionists of many kinds and many names who have exchanged old for new conventions and called the exchange independence. Even Anisfeld's devotion to the theatre comes of his sympathy with the art of his own time, though perhaps of all the artists who have been working for the stage, he has most successfully mastered its many problems. He has none of Reinhardt's crudeness and vulgarity, he does not tumble into the pitfall simplicity sometimes proves for Gordon Craig. The Russian ballet provides him with a motive for the color, the splendor, and the barbaric gorgeousness he delights in, but he can be appropriately simple when simplicity suits his theme. His interest in the stage, however, and the adaptation of his art to it, is no more Russian than it is French or English or German.

Some of Anisfeld's sketches are here, for the "Egyptian Nights," "The Preludes," "Islamey," effective arrangements of color, suggestive of the spectacle of which they are but the notes and memoranda. Here, too, is the sketch for the Fourth Act in "Gabriel Schilling's Flight," a quiet scheme of greys and greens, the four little curtained windows on the far wall making an amusing pattern merely by repetition, the whole as simple as the simplest scene by Gordon Craig, as effective as any stage setting by Jacques Copeau for the Vieux Colombier. But Anisfeld seems unable to escape from the theatre, to forget its artificial standards, when he is painting his pictures. You feel the theatre in his large, flamboyant canvasses—"The Garden of the Hesperides" with the violent and unmeaning passages of shining, dazzling yellow; "The Golden God," with the line of little figures in the foreground, the yellows and crimsons and reds of their draperies so sharp that they hurt; the "Garden of Eden," with the serpent and the peacock that might have strayed from the exotic home of the ballet; the Blue Statue, the color so discordant, the paint laid on with so rough a brush; but above all in "The Golden Tribute" and "Hispania," because these two challenge to a comparison that can only emphasize their exaggerations. It is safe to say that "The Golden

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Tribute" would never have been painted but for Manet's "Olympe." Manet's nude is life itself, the woman, the courtesan, and her surroundings, the various details, are there because they belong to her, are part of her. Anisfeld's nude is as a lay figure, an excuse for a flaming arrangement of gold and scarlet, curtains and draperies of the couch so red that the color is re-echoed in the woman's hair, in the splash upon her chin, in her fingers that seem steeped in the dye of the draperies, and again, but deeper and stronger, in the garments of the four enigmatic figures standing beyond the couch, each holding a bunch of vivid yellow flowers, the yellow note struck still more vividly in a larger bunch on the couch—the effect forced and the means by which it is produced almost flaunted in your face. To look at "Hispania" is to recall at once Zuloaga. The painting, the catalogue explains, is "a Spanish synthesis," Spain, as Anisfeld sees it, no doubt expressed in the golden town set among cubic hills with, below, vague figures typical of the land —women in mantillas, men in low, broad-brimmed hats—losing themselves in an inchoate restlessness of paint. But Anisfeld must have looked at Spain through modern glasses—the glasses of the most recent secession. Zuloaga, looking for himself with his own eyes, expressed more of Spain in those memorable green-robed peasant women grouped among the austere hills of their austere country, arranged by no formula into which they had to be made to fit, but painted as the painter saw them there, with a direct truth far more eloquent than any synthesis. And it is to be noted that when Anisfeld ceases to be what Mr. Brinton pompously calls "the fantast" or "the symphonic fantasist," evolving "paradisic fantasia." When he relies upon truth, upon facts, he is finer in both color and design, as in his "Christmas" with the gleaming balls of the Christmas tree a motive for a fantastic pattern, while nothing could be better than the way he has rendered the character of the doll on the table and the gay taudriness of the Christmas crackers.

It is the same with the portraits, they show how good a draughtsman Anisfeld is. Unlike the average Cubist or Vorticist or Futurist, he can draw. But, here again, he seems bent on giving the extra emphasis that is not of life but of the stage, sacrificing to it atmosphere, textures, character.

You feel the effort in the several series done at Concarneau, at Hendaye, above all at Capri, where the painter seems almost obsessed by methods and affectations that the Post-Impressionists brought into vogue. In his Biblical series, the Shulamite and Rebecca pose in a landscape of cubes and cones, so deliberately built up that only the ingenuity in fitting them together can be seen. That Anisfeld's interest should be for this manner of experiment is the more to be regretted because, when he frees himself from the modes of the moment, he is much more effective. There is a brilliant little impression of a Spanish bull-fight, all glowing with light and color. The large "Clouds," an early painting, is as vigorous in treatment as it is original in conception. One or two of the simpler sketches of sails at Hendaye give a fine decorative arrangement of blue; tree forms are used to good decorative purpose in such large canvases as "September" and "Gray Day on the Neva."

To go from the Brooklyn Museum to the American Fine Arts Building in Fifty-Seventh Street is to wonder why one was so critical in front of Anisfeld's canvases. After all, they are the work of an artist with command of his medium, a feeling for color and the daring for experiment; an artist who seeks beauty if not always in the right direction, who is vigorous even in his affectations, and who is interesting enough to compel one to look at all he does and to think about it. The work of the New York Water Club is colorless and characterless; it seldom invites to thought. The members are content to do again what has been done too often already, lingering before the same familiar old house or old corner, wandering through the same familiar fields and by the same familiar waterside, posing the same familiar models in the same familiar interior, putting them all down on paper with the same familiar prettiness. An occasional excursion to more industrial scenes, or even to the Avenue of the Allies, does little to relieve the average. Gifford Beal's landscapes have a welcome freshness and animation, and Jan Matulka's Czecho-Slovak peasants, the merit of gaiety. Even Maurice B. Prendergast's mannered drawings seem more amusing than they might at an exhibition maintaining generally higher standards than those of the present collection. But if the truth is to be told, the exceptions in the present instance are few.

N. N.

Finance

The Peace Readjustment

VARIOUS foreign Governments during the last fortnight have cancelled their orders with American manufacturers for war steel. These cancellations included an order by Italy covering 65,000 tons of barbed wire and another by Great Britain for 22,000 tons. The French Government authorities notified American manufacturers to hold up work on the 50,000-ton order for barbed wire covering delivery during the first half of 1919. The same buyers asked also that a 30,000-ton contract for wire rods should be held up until further notice.

This action was to have been expected under the circumstances and the chances are that the cancellations will reach an enormous tonnage in the steel industry alone. Since last December, orders have been given out for 5,000,000 tons of shell steel. Of this tonnage probably half has been either made up or shipped to the purchasers. The mills that have been engaged on this work will probably shift to rail orders, as the railways are badly in need of a greater tonnage than they have been able to procure. The manufacturers planned long ago so as to avoid loss from the sudden cancellation of orders, and the probability is that the Governments will stand to pay heavy damages for such tonnage as has been partially completed and cannot be diverted to peace purposes. The steel manufacturers are in a favorable position as they have been unable for months past to turn out the normal tonnage which private customers have asked for. The indications are, therefore, that many of the mills which have been long engaged upon Government work will shift to other production, so as to hold their forces together and provide employment for the thousands of operatives who have been paid record wages, in order to push the production of war material.

It is probable that work will be stopped forthwith on plants that were intended for the production of special Government material. It has been urged that the price-fixing committee of the War Industries Board should continue its activities for six months to come, so as to provide for the readjustment programme that has been initiated. This situation is without precedent, and there are certain to be interesting developments ahead. The activities of the War Industries Board have been so far-reaching, and most of the work has been done so successfully, as to suggest that the reorganization of American industry now under way will be attended with less difficulty than seemed probable a few months ago. This is because the Government demand for steel and other products has been so great as to make it necessary for private consumers to curtail production as far as possible, and release all tonnage that was not absolutely needed for war-making purposes. The position of the various industries has been strengthened by the dismantling of plants engaged exclusively in the production of war material and their re-equipment with machinery required to insure the resumption of their normal output. The great offsetting factor therefore is the large volume of unfilled orders which the industry can take care of, now that the Government demand is no longer the overshadowing factor.

The banks are in position to finance the re-equipment of the war plants, so as to make them once more profitable peace enterprises. The Capital Issues Committee may be expected to approve such loans if its approval is required under the new conditions which will be encountered during the period when this re-equipment of war industries to meet the requirements of peace markets is under way. Another factor of great significance is the large foreign tonnage which the plants released from the production of war material will be asked to provide for. There are interesting days ahead for American manufacturers.

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IN "Cyprus under British Rule" (Robert Scott, London, 1918), Captain C. W. J. Orr has written the best brief account to be had of the British occupation and administration of Cyprus. The British first went to Cyprus, under a treaty entered into with Turkey in 1878, to be in a position to aid the Sultan in the defence of his Asiatic dominions against future attack by Russia, and it was stipulated that they would evacuate the island, if Russia should relinquish the conquests she had recently made in Asiatic Turkey. But what was originally intended as a measure for the defence of the Turkish Empire has turned out to be an incident in its dismemberment, for in 1914, upon the outbreak of war with Turkey, Great Britain declared the treaty of 1878 at an end and annexed Cyprus. Captain Orr, who gives evidence of first-hand knowledge of conditions in the island, finds much to respect, but also a good deal to find fault with, in the British administration. To its bureaucratic character in large measure he attributes the present propaganda among the Greek-speaking Cypriots for political union with Greece.

"NEUROPSYCHIATRY and the War," published by The National Committee for Mental Hygiene, contains abstracts of books, of parts of books, and of articles dealing with the psychiatric aspects of the war, which embody the latest information about special problems to be met with in army camps and are here assembled in convenient form for the use of psychiatrists and neurologists attached to military hospitals. They are grouped under the countries in the language of which the original books or articles were published, and are arranged chronologically according to the date of publication so that development of theories, changes of opinion, working out of methods, and the like may be traced throughout the progress of the war. If matter from German sources is small in amount, this is not owing to any absurd prejudice, but simply to the fact that few issues of German medical journals have reached this country since 1915. There is an admirable index—a vital necessity in the case of a work of this nature, and one to which adequate attention is not always given.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK

POETRY AND DRAMA

Andrews, M. R. S. Crosses of War. Scribners. 75 cents.
Bakshy, Alexander. The Path of the Modern Russian Stage. Luce. $2.50.
Dodd, L. W. The Middle Miles. Yale University Press.
Frankau, Gilbert. The Other Side. Knopf. $1.
Graves, Robert. Fairies and Fusiliers. Knopf. $1.
Joyce, James. Chamber Music. B. W. Huebsch. $1
Mackay, C. D. Patriotic Drama in Your Town. Holt. $1.35
Mansfield, Richard. Courage. Moffat, Yard. $1
Moeller, Philip. Five Somewhat Historical Plays. Knopf. $1.50.
Nathan, G. J. The Popular Theatre. Knopf. $1.60.
Phelps, W. L. The Twentieth Century Theatre. Macmillan. $1.25
Poèmes des Poilus. Butterfield.
Social Plays of Arthur Wing Pinero: The Gay Lord Quex. Iris. Dutton. $2
Stebbing, William. Virgil and Lucretius. Longmans, Green. $1.50
Wells, Carolyn. Such Nonsense. Doran. $2

THE ARTS

Grantham, A. E. Pencil Speakings from Peking. Macmillan, $4
Guilbert, Yvette. How to Sing a Song. Macmillan. $2
Isaacson, C. D. Face to Face with Great Musicians. Boni, Liveright. $1.50.
Neuhaus, Eugen. Painters, Pictures and the People. Philopolis Press.

FICTION

Barbusse, Henri. We Others. Dutton. $1.50.
Chambers, R. W. The Laughing Girl. Appleton. $1.50
Lincoln, J. C. Shavings. Appleton. $1
White, W. A. The Heart of a Fool. Macmillan. $1.60

HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY

Cooper, C. S. Understanding South America. Doran. $2
Dempsey, T. The Delphic Oracle. Longmans, Green. $2
Foreign Relations of the United States. 1909-1910. Government Printing Office.
Hudson, W. H. Far Away and Long Ago. Dutton. $2.50
Harvey, Alexander. Shelley's Elopement. Knopf. $2.
Howard, Kathleen. Confessions of an Opera Singer. Knopf. $2.
Knowles, Sir Lees. The British in Capri 1806-1808. The Bodley Head. $5.
Massachusetts Historical Society Proceedings. 1917-1918. Boston.
Olden, S. E. The People of Tipi Sapa. Morehouse Publishing Co. $2.50.
Teakle, Thomas. The Spirit Lake Massacre. The State Historical Society of Iowa.
Usher, R. G. The Pilgrims and Their History. Macmillan. $2.
Whipple, Wayne. The Heart of Lee. Jacobs. 75 cents.
Woodberry, G. E. Hawthorne. Bobbs, Merrill. $1.50.

SOCIAL SCIENCE

Bogardus, E. S. Essentials of Social Psychology. Los Angeles: University of Southern California Press.
Brown, H. G. Earned and Unearned Incomes. Missouri Book Co.
Friedman, E. M. American Problems of Reconstruction. Dutton. $4
Paton, W. A. and Stevenson, R. A. Principles of Accounting. Macmillan. $3.25

PHILOSOPHY AND RELIGION

Grant, P. S. Fair Play for the Workers. Moffat, Yard. $1.60
Jenkins, B. A. The Protestant. The Christian Century Press. $1.35.
McConaughty, David. Money, the Acid Test. Missionary Education Movement.
Ussher, C. D. Before Governors and Kings. Houghton Mifflin. 60 cents.

EDUCATION

Burnet, P. B. Moratin's El Si de las Ninas. Holt.
Pattou, E. E. Conversations Militaires. Heath. 40 cents
Williams, B. C. A Book of Short Stories. Appleton.

THE WAR

Auld, S. J. M. Gas and Flame in Modern Warfare. Doran. $1.35
Barry, William. The World's Debate. Doran. $1.50
Bordeaux, Henry. Guynemer. Yale University Press. $1.60
Bradley, A. O. Back of the Front in France. Butterfield. $1.50
Cromie, W. J. 325 Group Contests for the Army, Navy and School. Macmillan, $1.25
Lake, Harold. Campaigning in the Balkans. McBride. $1.50
Latané, J. H. From Isolation to Leadership. Doubleday, Page. $1
Massart, Jean. The Secret Press in Belgium. Dutton. $1.50.
Morgenthau, Henry. Ambassador Morgenthau's Story. Doubleday, Page. $2
Strother. French Fighting Germany's Spies. Doubleday, Page. $1.50

JUVENILE

Abbott, J. D. Keineth. Lippincott. $1.25
Collins, A. F. Handicraft for Boys. Stokes. $1.50
Colum, Padraic. The Boy Who Knew What the Birds Said. Macmillan. $1.50
Knipe, B. and A. A. Girls of '64. Macmillan. $1.35
Mirick, G. A. Home Life Around the World. Houghton, Mifflin. $1.25
Perkins, L. F. The French Twins. Houghton, Mifflin. $1.25
Sabin, E. L. Boys' Book of Indian Warriors. Jacobs. $1.50
Segovia, Gertrude. The Spanish Fairy Book. Stokes. $1.50
Wonder Book of the Bible. Stokes. $2.50.

TRAVEL AND DESCRIPTION

Longstreth, T. M. The Catskills. Century. $2.50.
Miller, L. E. In the Wilds of South America. Scribners. $4.50.
Reed, E. H. Sketches in Duneland. Lane. $2.50.

ESSAYS AND CRITICISM

Hazeltine, A. I. A Study of William Shenstone and His Critics. George Banta Publishing Co.
Iles, George. Canadian Stories. Published by the author.
Van Vechten, Carl. The Merry-Go-Round. Knopf. $2.

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International Relations Section

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The Freedom of the Seas

By PITMAN B. POTTER

IN its widest scope the problem of "the freedom of the seas" includes the questions of national territorial jurisdiction over the sea or its arms, belligerent rights at sea, and piracy and the slave trade or their suppression. Reputable authorities may be found who regard this or that phase of the problem as the particular question of the freedom of the seas, but it seems wiser, in discussing the question, to keep the whole field in view.

To free the seas in the days of Minos of Crete, or of Pompey, or of Commodore Preble meant to rid the seas of pirates who, tongue in cheek perhaps, insisted on a freedom of the seas of their own anarchic sort. A free sea in the first half of the nineteenth century seemed to mean liberty for American slave-traders to carry on their commerce without interference from England or any other Power. These, however, are eddies in the historical current of the discussion and may be left at one side. The main questions now remaining are two, and both of them are vital. For centuries, from about 1200 to 1650, the greatest menace to the freedom of the seas was the attempt on the part of Venice, of Portugal, and of Britain to include parts of the seas in their imperial domains. Just at present there is a tendency to refer solely to the matter of belligerent Powers at sea, and to say that the seas are free in time of peace or that there is no longer a problem of the freedom of the seas except in time of war; but the war will not last forever, and the question of territorial dominion over the seas, although a part of the law of peace as much as of the law of war, is in the foreground of discussion to-day. The Dardanelles and the Straights of Gibraltar have not been entirely absent from the declarations of war aims and peace terms.

July, 1914, saw the law of territorial waters in a fairly certain and settled condition as international law goes. Over a certain portion of the open waters adjoining their coast, over enclosed or semi-enclosed gulfs or bays of certain size or proportions, over certain portions of the straits, canals and rivers partly or wholly included in their territories, riparian states enjoyed a more or less well-defined and well-recognized authority in respect of the ships and nationals of other states entering those areas. That power fell short of complete sovereignty, but it extended to the enforcement of measures for the safety of shipping, the regulation of fisheries, and the protection of the health and safety of the inhabitants of the shore and of the national security. On certain grounds the riparian state could exclude the nationals of other states: the neutral state might, for example, prohibit belligerent navigation of its territorial waters in order to protect its neutrality. The most important limitation upon this power of the state was the so-called right of innocent navigation through the waters over which such power was exercised, possessed by non-riparian states in time of peace and, subject to further limitations, in time of war. For the precise and manifold details of the nature and extent of the power of the state over such waters as were "territorial," and of the limitations of that power, reference must be had to the standard authorities on maritime international law.

Beyond the question of the extent of the power exercised over territorial waters lies the more elementary question of the extent of such waters themselves. Territorial waters may be defined from the land outward. Petty or inland canals and so-called non-navigable rivers do not enter the discussion at all, for the reason that they are completely under the sovereignty of the state. Navigable rivers, ship canals, and interoceanic canals lying entirely within one state are territorial waters of that state. Navigable rivers which touch two or more states are subject to a joint or concurrent territorial jurisdiction whose complex nature is often defined by international convention. Straits, gulfs and coastal waters are within the jurisdiction of the riparian state to a width of at least three miles. Straits less than six miles in width, with different states occupying the opposite shores, are under a control divided by the middle of the stream; if bounded by one state alone, such straits are subject to the power of that state. The inclusion or exclusion of gulfs or bays which in their entirety are within the jurisdiction of the riparian state depends upon the width of their entrances, and the depth inland of the gulf or bay in question in proportion to the width of its mouth. The bases in principle for such inclusion are the need for security on the part of the state within whose coast the bay is found, and the ability of that state to control the waters of the bay by coast artillery. For the varying national claims to wider coastal waters, straits and gulfs, corresponding to variations in real or fancied danger to the coasts of one state or another and to the progress in the art of ballistics made in different states, reference must again be made to the texts and manuals of the law.

Beyond these areas the seas are "free." That is to say, beyond these areas all states have an equal right to use the sea, free from the jurisdiction of any foreign state not founded upon special agreements. The high seas are the world's highway where, subject to detailed exceptions too complex and numerous for statement here, the ship and its passengers or crew are free from the control of any state save that whose flag it flies. This is, *par excellence*, "the freedom of the seas."

Of more acute interest just at present, however, are the rights of belligerents at sea. In July, 1914, these rights had been defined by the Declaration of London. Although never ratified, and hence unauthoritative in an official sense, this convention of 1909 nevertheless stated better than any other international document the law of war at sea.

Under the Declaration of London and the common international law which formed its interpretation and its supple-

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ment, enemy ships, and enemy cargoes in enemy ships, were open to capture and condemnation as enemy property by the prize courts of the captor. Neutral vessels which attempted to break through blockades of enemy coasts which had been duly established and notified to the neutrals, and neutral vessels which carried cargoes more than half of which were contraband, or which performed unneutral service by carrying enemy personnel or dispatches or by participating in military operations in other designated ways, were similarly liable. Postal correspondence was declared inviolable in all cases. Certain lists of articles were declared to be contraband by nature—so-called "absolute" contraband—and as such were subject to capture, even though they were neutral property, if destined for the enemy state, its forces, or territory in its occupation. Other articles were listed as "conditional" contraband as being useful for civilian as well as military purposes, and were subject to capture only if proved to be destined for the enemy Government or its armed forces. Still other articles were declared to be entirely free of contraband character and could never be made contraband, while provision was also made for transferring articles from the list of conditional to that of absolute contraband by reasonable notification on the part of the transferring state. Religious, charitable and scientific vessels were declared to be immune from attack or capture, and this immunity was extended to petty fishing and coast-trading vessels. Neutral ships might be visited and searched in enforcement of the substantive belligerent rights of capture, and an attempt to escape would void the immunities from destruction previously enjoyed. These immunities were, in law, considerable, for the destruction of either enemy or neutral merchant vessels which had been captured could take place without adjudication in a prize court only in strictly limited cases and after providing for the safety of the ship's personnel.

The fact that the Declaration of London was not officially binding led to some parleying among the belligerents in 1914 as to its application. As it turned out, no belligerent has applied the Declaration as it stood; with the result that, subject to the general tenor of the Declaration and the historical law of prize, and subject more especially to its own general temper and ethical standards and commercial or political interests, each nation has written its own maritime law of war during the last four years—under more or less effective protest and retaliation from opposing belligerents and suffering neutrals. Germany and Austria have torn up the restrictions in respect of warning before sinking, the restrictions on sinking without adjudication in a prize court, and in respect of provisions for the safety of passengers and crew. In a peculiarly vicious way the Central Powers have offended against the time-honored chivalry of the sea; and of all the outcry against Germany that of the seamen is most unpolitical and sincere. The Allies on their part have abandoned entirely the distinction between absolute and conditional contraband, expanded their powers of blockade, and rewritten step by step the lists of contraband to the extent of wiping out the free list and making all articles contraband irrespective of their destination for civilian or military use. The Central Powers have not failed to take similar steps.

The cause of all this is not to be found merely in the fact that the Declaration of London had not been ratified. Even if it had been accepted and applied at the start by all concerned,it could not have been maintained without stultifying a large part, if not the greater part, of British belligerent action. The facts of engineering technique and social evolution would have wrecked such an attempt, as they have wrecked the effort to apply it notwithstanding that it had not been ratified. There are no materials or persons not part of the belligerent action of the state to-day; the whole state fights with all its people and materials, its industries and trade, and the distinctions written into the law of 1909 seem unreal to-day. Raw cotton and rubber were included in 1909 in the list of articles which were not to be declared contraband at all, on the ground that they could not possibly be relevant to the military operations of the state.

These reasons, however, apply chiefly to the alterations made in the law by the Allies. For the German variations from the Declaration there is one main cause. Much of its illegal action Germany could hope to defend in some measure because of ambiguities or omissions in the law in 1914 regarding the warlike or peaceful (i. e., commercial) character of a given enemy vessel and the rights of merchantmen in resisting capture or presumptive destruction; but for the greater part of its action there is only one, though an all-sufficient explanation, and one quite outside the legal realm, namely, the control of the surface of the sea by the Allies. A verdict on these variations on both sides goes back to the question of the justice of the respective causes themselves. Both parties acted more or less illegally as judged by the law of 1914, and one illegality has about as much merit as another; but upon the ethics of the case a different judgment must be passed.

There is another hardly less fundamental issue involved in the question of the freedom of the seas: the age-long conflict of maritime and continental power, of the naval state and the military state, of the navy and the army. The Declaration of London seriously restricted the former in war, and it is an open question whether the framers of that document did not more or less unwittingly lend themselves to a set of rules which, if carried out, could result only in sacrificing the freedom of Europe to the freedom of the Atlantic. If Great Britain and France had conformed to the Declaration of London, with its severe limitation of blockade to enemy coasts, its restriction of the doctrine of continuous voyage to the field of absolute contraband (thus prohibiting the seizure of conditional contraband, which included "flying machines" in 1909, destined, for example, for a neutral merchant in Amsterdam), its large free list, and its inviolability of postal correspondence, the German submarine warfare and the German violations of the law of the sea might never have been necessary as measures of retaliation—and Belgium might now be a German province.

Countless other minor aspects of the question might be considered, including the strewing of floating mines, the declaration of closed sea areas, the enforced deviation of neutral ships from their courses, and the use of neutral waters or ports as bases of belligerent operations. In all such cases the law as it stood at the outbreak of the present war has been more or less altered by various belligerents and neutrals; and an agreement will have to be reached at the end of the war upon the extent to which the law shall be revived or rewritten and, if rewritten, to what effect. There must also be a restatement of the law upon the extent and quality of the power of a state over adjacent waters in rivers, canals, straits, bays, and the marginal sea, as part

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of the general restatement of the law of nations which is so badly needed. In these revisions all the interests and policies of the continental and maritime states will find room for action, but the result should be a redefinition of the freedom of the seas by a restatement of the legitimate extent of state jurisdiction over the sea and its arms as to all persons and ships entering those areas, or over an enemy or neutral vessel or cargo on the high seas in time of war.

Who Shall Inherit the Power in Russia?*

By VLADIMIR GROSSMAN

THIS question is dictated, not by curiosity, but by a sense that an answer to it is a political necessity.

We must get clear in our minds the problem of who is to take over the power after the impending fall of the Bolsheviki before we can form an idea of when that fall is to be expected. Possibly the only reason why the Bolsheviki can endure so long is because there is absolutely no one—or no one strong enough—to take the reins of government. Lenine is quoted as having said, some time ago: "They call us political corpses, and that may be true, but I want to ask who is going to bury us—who can?"

Whoever invented these words and put them in Lenine's mouth has without a doubt touched the core of the matter, the leading phenomenon in Russian political life at this moment. What parties, outside of the Bolsheviki, are at this moment representing the Russian people? What parties have any potentiality of gathering the Russian people, or any considerable majority of them, to their standards? What parties are able to solve in one way or another, not only on paper but in fact, the problem which still exists, though the Bolsheviki have fraudulently tried to deny it, that of war between Russia and Germany?

Unfortunately the political life of Russia extends over such a wide field that it is extremely difficult for a foreign observer to find any unity in the tangle of parties. At present, other countries see only the Bolsheviki with their insane oligarchic policy and have no idea of the other parties.

Some conception of the Russian parties outside the Bolshevist group may be gathered from the following: The great Social-Revolutionary party represents chiefly the peasantry. This does not mean, however, that the Russian peasants are actually backing the party. In the first place, there are, even among the peasantry, various groups which do not have exactly the same economic interests. We must also remember that the cultural level of the Russian peasants is too low for them to form any solid force on the side of the Social-Revolutionary party. If the cleavage in this party had not been so wide, it would surely have been impossible for the Bolsheviki to retain their leadership so long. The only thing the party has been able to accomplish was to incite the peasants to starve out the Bolshevik centres—that is, to a passive resistance. In this one phase, the Social-Revolutionary party has directed a violent blow at the Bolsheviki and has, perhaps unconsciously, tended to an intimate union with the peasantry. But that is all.

As matters now stand, the great majority of the Russian people, the many millions of peasants, have not been able to overthrow the narrow-hearted despotism of a relatively small group of the city proletariat and the unemployed. This is the more remarkable, because the non-Bolshevist Social Democracy has also a large following among the factory workers, so large that the power was principally in their hands before the Bolshevist revolution of October, 1917. In spite of everything, the Bolshevist influences have been able to suppress all active resistance and to proclaim their little group as the ruling party in the whole land. It is clear that the results achieved by the Bolsheviki have been due not only to the strength of their attack, but also to the lack of force in the Social-Democratic elements that were their opponents. This lack of force has been so marked that not even the mad and bloody reign of terror instituted by Lenine and Trotzky has yet been able to provoke any strong reaction in their opponents. This is a riddle, not only to the outside world, but to Russia herself. Abroad and at home, people are waiting for a solution, but the solution is not forthcoming. Every day plunges the country deeper into the abyss of a mad anarchy. And yet the Bolshevist rule goes on.

It is self-evident that the bourgeois liberal parties alone are not capable of taking over the power now while we are in the fever of revolution. Russia is a gigantic body with huge hands and feet, but as yet with a very small head. All fine words about the beautiful spirit and the latent intelligence of the Russian people avail nothing. Russia is a land with an enormous mass of peasantry and a very thin layer of bourgeoisie. If we discount as any real political factor the rather numerous representatives of the landed nobility formerly living in the country—who in themselves are quite incapable of any modern political activity—there is left only a very thin layer of city bourgeoisie. It is simply not possible to find any connecting link between the large class of peasants and working-men on one side and the representatives (in normal times) of trade and industry on the other—a fact that does not encourage us to think that the people, in case of a revolution, would be led by these individuals. Nor have they been. The country is long since socialized.

Yet we must admit that whatever of strong political purpose exists among the opponents of Bolshevism is among these individuals. Their purpose is historically larger and stronger, politically better trained; they have grown up with it and are accustomed to it. For that reason it is more pliant, bends more easily to the left or the right. If only, in addition to a political purpose, they could also muster an army!

The opposition to the Bolsheviki consists, therefore, of two groups: on the one side the proletariat, which theoretically is the people, but has not the power nor the purpose necessary to great deeds; and on the other the property-owning classes who have the will and the courage, but not the numbers. It is a political triangle in which one corner is stronger than the other two because the latter are not united. The foreign observer would perhaps jump to the conclusion that these two ought first to overcome the common enemy, the Bolsheviki, and that afterwards they could fight out their differences among themselves.

But to a Russian the problem wears a very different aspect. To him the fall of the Bolsheviki is not sufficient; he wants to know what is coming after. The Russian bourgeoisie make no secret of their future plans. They speak derisively not only of the Bolsheviki, but of "Bolshevist experiments" made at the beginning of the revolution. They look with envy on what is now being attempted in the Ukraine and the Don district, where old generals of the Czar have taken the leadership and are trying to efface all that was done in the early days of the revolution. Impatiently they are awaiting the day when they can throw off the mask and see their dreams realized. They have learned nothing and they have forgotten nothing.

Therefore Russians are watching the disintegration of the Bolshevist power, not only with joy, but also with terrible fear of the trend that future developments may take. Therefore the Russian ear discerns, even here thousands of miles distant from Siberia, not only the proclamations of orderly government wherever the Bolsheviki are ousted, but also the well-known—too well-known, alas!—voices of the supporters of Czardom. From almost every place where the power of the Bolsheviki has been broken, we get reports of real counter-revolutions and of new intense hatreds. The dream of the counter-revolutionists is the destruction of everything that can remind them of the revolution, and their burning desire is for revenge.

Therefore the question of who shall inherit the power after the impending fall of the Bolsheviki is serious. No Socialist party will bury the Bolshevist corpse in order to be itself buried by the resurrected remains of Czardom. None of the parties will go blindly to meet such a fate. They must first know who are the heirs and what the rights of inheritance.

This is, just now, the burning question in Russian politics.

*A translation of an article which appeared in the *Morgenavisen*, a Conservative newspaper of Bergen, Norway, on September 30.

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Correspondence

Problems of Nationality

London, October 18

IT is not for nothing that G. P. Gooch was one of Lord Acton's pupils. Of the younger English historians, few can lay claim to so encyclopaedic a mind. Though an accurate scholar, he is no victim of the narrow specialism that is incapable of taking broad surveys. His grasp of a big situation came out in the lecture he gave in London on October 16 on "Some Problems of Nationality." He began by saying that there could be no new international order which did not rest on the basis of satisfied nationality. Three guiding principles must be followed —principles which had never dawned on the famous men who once assembled at Vienna on a similar task. (1) Where possible, self-determination must be carried out logically and unflinchingly, as much on our own side as with regard to the territories of our enemies. (2) In cases where complete self-determination was impossible, there must be cultural autonomy that would afford a clear and definite guarantee for the preservation and fostering of national life and sentiment. (3) There must be economic opportunity for all groups, large or small.

Turning to concrete issues, Mr. Gooch remarked that we were now faced with the decomposition of three great empires—Russia, Turkey, and Austria. The soil of Russia had been turned up by the deep plough of revolution, and half a dozen nationalities had come to light of whom previously only students knew. He rejoiced that the unnatural and unhealthy connection between Finland and Russia had come to an end. Finland, he believed, would be equal to all the demands made upon a modern state. She had started badly, but that was not her fault. If she must have a German king to begin with, one could only hope that he would be a shadow king. Before long the Finns would be independent in practice, if not in theory.

The Esthonians were a definite race, blood-brothers of the Finns. They were more nearly connected with the Tartars than with the Slavs. Mr. Gooch did not want an independent Esthonia—it was too small for that—but urged that its nationality should be recognized in a federated Russian republic.

Next came Livonia and Courland, where the principal landowners were German barons but the real population consisted of Letts, one of the many members of the great Slavonic family. They had never had a state or literature of their own, but they had a strong national feeling. For them he asked self-determination. There should be no objection to their forming a self-governing unit in a re-united federal republic of Russia, but the people must settle that for themselves.

The Peace Congress could not separate until a Polish state had found its way back to the stage of European affairs. Mr. Gooch would desire that all Polish Galicia—the Cracow end of Galicia—should be joined to Russian Poland. The new state might take in also certain districts of Posen where the Poles were in an enormous majority, but he was opposed to having it include the whole of Prussian Posen. He was glad to find that President Wilson, in his fourteen points, had recognized this distinction. The Polish state must have an outlet to the sea. This could be gained either by annexing territory up to the Baltic, or by possessing rights over the Vistula. Mr. Gooch declared himself entirely against the former of these alternatives, which would mean the cutting off of East Prussia from the rest of Germany and annexing a district in which there was a large German majority. It would be much better to give Poland a right of condominium over the Vistula. The Germans and Poles should jointly own the lower course of that river, and at the mouth there might be a Polish enclave of two or three miles, just as Greece had granted an enclave at Salonika for the use of Serbia.

In Ruthenia or the Ukraine there were thirty million Ruthenes, and the Lemberg end of Galicia was also Ruthene. Sooner or later Ruthenian Galicia should join Russian Ruthenia as a unit in a federal Russian republic. This would be preferable to independence, largely because of the economic advantages of forming part of a great state. At present the Ukraine included a large mass of Tartars who ought not to be in it at all. Lithuania was for centuries united to Poland, but the new Polish state should be a Poland of the Poles only. The Poles were one race and the Lithuanians another, with Slavonic blood and language. The future of Lithuania was a very difficult proposition, but its best destiny, as in the other cases, would be that of a self-governing unit in a federal Russian republic.

The territory of the Caucasus was inhabited by three races, more or less equal in numbers—the Georgians, Tartars and Armenians. The Georgians had been swallowed up by Russia, which had systematically "steam-rollered" their nationality for a hundred years. They would not care to be part of a Russian republic. The Caucasian lands formed a geographical, not a racial, unit of their own. The Georgians, Tartars and Armenians must live together, and they might do so in a federal republic on the same lines as Switzerland.

The disintegration of Turkey would raise the Armenian problem in the Turkish provinces also. The Armenians could not have an independent sovereign state, because there is no sufficiently large territory with an Armenian majority. Probably what they would themselves prefer would be that the predominantly Armenian districts on both the Russian and the Turkish side should be grouped together as a ward of the league of nations. This solution was, of course, inconsistent with that just proposed for the Caucasian lands, and Mr. Gooch hesitated to pronounce between the two proposals.

The Arabs had already become practically independent owing to the war. Nearly all of the lands inhabited by them had been conquered—Mesopotamia, Palestine, and the larger part of Syria. We should not give these territories back to Turkey or annex them ourselves, but put them under the care of a league of nations. Mesopotamia should not become the prize of any conqueror in this war, but should yield its fruits for the benefit of the whole world.

The question of Austria, said Mr. Gooch, was too large to discuss in detail at the close of a lecture. Galician Poland, as he had already urged, should form part of a Polish State. He desired intensely that the new Poland should choose its own government, and if it desired an Austrian ruler, by all means let it have one. Probably the latter would be the best solution, as it would render easy the merging of Polish Galicia in Poland. With regard to Bohemia the same principle should be applied as in the case of Ireland. If Great Britain was not prepared to grant Ireland more than complete home rule, it should not ask Austria to give more to Bohemia. The best plan would be to make Bohemia a completely self-governing unit in a new federalized Austria, which would enable it to enjoy greater economic opportunities than otherwise. With a liberal and fair-minded government in Vienna, that would be more desirable than absolute independence. Broadly speaking, the same solution would best meet the needs of the Southern Slavs. The centre of their grievance had been Croatia. It was most unfortunate that for a thousand years they had belonged not to Austria but to Hungary. They could either receive complete and genuine self-government, or break away and form part of a Southern Slav state.

With respect to the Balkan nationalities, Mr. Gooch laid down the principle that we must do what was right and just, regardless of what side they had taken in the war or of what their rulers had done in their name. If Bulgaria had a right to certain districts before the war, it had not lost the right by the action of its foolish and wicked king. Montenegro should have the choice of joining Serbia or being re-established as a separate kingdom. Albania had clearly the right to national existence. Theoretically it had the same right to national independence as Great Britain, but there was no chance of getting it. What must be avoided at any rate was the partition of Albania among greedy neighbors. It was not a point of much importance whether the over-lord was Italy or Austria, so long as Albania possessed internal independence.

In conclusion, Mr. Gooch added a few words about Alsace-Lorraine. On that subject, he said, his own view was as clear as it could be about anything. The only fair solution was that the inhabitants should settle their destiny for themselves. He would hand over the taking of a plébiscite to the league of nations, or, as he would prefer to call it, the council of nations, which should decide, for instance, the voting status of people who had moved away or moved in.

HERBERT W. HORWILL

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Documents

A Bolshevist Outburst

THE following correspondence between the Swiss Ambassador to Russia, speaking in the name of the neutral Governments, and the People's Commissary for Foreign Affairs, is printed at Zürich by "Fritz Platten, National Councillor." The reply of M. Tschitscherin is probably to be regarded as a violent, but otherwise typical, statement of the Bolshevist position. It will be observed that the fact of the outrages against which the neutral diplomats protest is not denied.

The Note of the Neutral States

TO THE PEOPLE'S COMMISSARY FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS AT MOSCOW:

Inasmuch as the representatives of the diplomatic corps at Petrograd were able to ascertain, definitely, the mass arrests of persons regardless of age and sex, as well as the summary convictions imposed by soldiers of the Red Army day after day, they requested a conference with Commissary Zinovieff and were received by him on Monday, September 3. They declared that it was not their purpose to interfere in any way with the struggle between political parties now raging in Russia; they desired only from the standpoint of humanity and in the name of the Governments which they represent, to express their most profound indignation at the régime of terror introduced in Petrograd, Moscow, etc.

Prompted by the single purpose of satisfying their hatred against an entire class of citizens, without being authorized by any governmental authority, armed men, day and night, break into private dwellings, steal and plunder, and arrest and throw into prison hundreds of unfortunates who have nothing to do with the political struggle and whose only guilt consists in belonging to the class of the bourgeoisie, the extermination of which is being preached by the leaders of the communists in their newspapers and their speeches. The distracted families are denied every possibility of finding out where their members are confined; they are refused permission to see the imprisoned or to bring them needed food.

Such acts of terrorism on the part of men who boast that they want to bring about the happiness of the entire human race are incomprehensible, and they arouse the indignation of the entire civilized world, which is now learning about the events at Petrograd.

The diplomatic corps has deemed it necessary to convey its indignation to the People's Commissary, Zinovieff. It protests energetically against the arbitrary acts occurring every day. The representatives of the neutral Governments reserve for their Governments the right to demand of the persons guilty of these arbitrary acts the needed satisfaction and personal legal responsibility.

The diplomatic corps requests that this note be brought to the attention of the Soviet Government.

Petrograd, September 5, 1918

(Signed) E. ODIER, The Swiss Ambassador,
President of the Diplomatic Corps in Russia.

The Answer of the Soviet Government

TO THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE CAPITALIST NEUTRAL POWERS:

The note handed to us by the representatives of the neutral Powers on September 5 constitutes an act of *gross interference in the internal affairs of Russia.* The Soviet Government might leave this act without any answer whatever. But the Soviet Government utilizes with pleasure every opportunity to make clear to the popular masses of all countries the nature of its policies, for the reason that it is the *representative not only of the working-class of Russia but of the entire exploited human race.* The People's Commissary for Foreign Affairs therefore gives its answer regarding the matter in question.

The neutral Powers endeavor to give a description of the condition of the suppressed bourgeoisie of Russia that is calculated to arouse the deepest sympathy in the hearts of the bourgeoisie of the entire world. It is not our purpose to refute the inventions of the representatives of the neutral Powers, who, in their note, repeat every slander brought by the Russian bourgeoisie against the Red Army. We need not refute a single allegation about a concrete case of arbitrariness, first, because the representatives of the neutral Powers do not quote a single concrete case, and, second, because in every war—and we find ourselves in a condition of civil war—there will happen misdeeds of individuals.

The representatives of the neutral Powers do not protest against scattered misdeeds on the part of irresponsible persons, *but against the régime enacted by the workers' and peasants' Government in its struggle against the class of exploiters.*

Before we explain why the workers' and peasants' Government applies the red terror, against which the representatives of the neutral Powers protest in the name of humanity and because of which they threaten us with the indignation of the entire civilized world, we shall take the liberty of *asking them a few questions.*

Is it known to the representatives of the neutral Powers that, already in its fifth year, *there rages an international war into which a little clique of bankers, generals, and bureaucrats has pushed the masses of the people of the entire world*; that the masses of the people are mutually destroying themselves and are cutting each others' throats so that the capitalists may profit billions? Is it known to them that in this war not only have millions of human beings been killed at the front, but that both warring parties *have bombed open cities and have killed unarmed women and children?* Is it known to them that in this war one of the warring parties *has sentenced millions of human beings to death by starvation* in that, contrary to international law, it has cut off the supply of bread, hoping that, by means of the starvation of children, it can force upon the other party an unconditional surrender? Is it known to them that the warring parties *take as prisoners hundreds of thousands of unarmed peaceful citizens,* putting them to forced labor far from hearth and home and taking from them every right of redress? Is it known to them that in all warring countries the ruling capitalist clique *has robbed the masses of the people of the right of assembly, of the freedom of the press, and of the right to strike,* and that, for even the faintest attempt at protest against the *white terror* of the bourgeoisie, the workers are sent to jail or are sent to the front in order to kill within them every thought of their human rights?

All these pictures of the extirpation of the working-class in the name of capitalist interests, all these pictures of the white terror of the bourgeoisie, are more than well-known to the Governments of the neutral Powers *and to their representatives in Russia.* And yet, they have either forgotten the higher ideals of "humanity," or they forgot, in this case, to remind the bourgeoisie of the warring countries, dripping with the blood of the masses of the people, of these ideals.

The so-called neutral countries did not dare to protest, with so much as a single word, against the white terror of capital; aye, they did not even wish to protest, because the bourgeoisie of all neutral countries aided the capitalists of the warring countries to continue the war for the reason that they made billions by furnishing war material to both imperialist camps.

We shall permit ourselves to ask still another question: Have the representatives of the neutral Powers ever heard anything about the bloody suppression of the Sinn Feiners in *Dublin?* About the shooting, without court order, of hundreds of Irishmen, including *Skeffington?* Have they ever heard of the white terror in *Finland,* of the tens of thousands shot, of the tens of thousands of workingmen rotting in jails, of their wives and children, none of whom were ever charged with anything or ever will be? Have they not heard of the mass executions of workers and peasants in the Ukraine? Of the mass shootings *of workingmen by the brave Czecho-Slovaks,* these hirelings of French-English capital? *The Governments of the so-called neutral countries heard of all this, but never did the thought occur to them to protest against these arbitrary acts of the bourgeoisie in suppressing the working-class movement, because they themselves are ready at any moment to shoot the workers battling for their rights, and in their own countries they are ready, in the name and for the defence of the interests of the bourgeoisie, to suppress the slightest sign of the rising of an indignant working class.*

It is sufficient to remind oneself of the recent suppression by military force of labor demonstrations in Denmark, in Norway, in Holland, in Switzerland, etc. Not yet have the workers of Switzerland, Holland, and Denmark risen, but already do the Governments of these countries mobilize the military forces against the slightest movement of protest on the part of the workers. *When the representatives of the neutral countries threaten us with the indignation of the civilised world, and protest against the red terror in the name of humanity, then we call their attention to the fact that they have not been sent to Russia to defend the principles of humanity, but to take care of the interests of capitalist states; and we advise them not to threaten us with the indignation of the civilised world that is dripping from head to foot with the blood of the workers, but themselves to tremble before the wrath of the masses of the people of the entire world who will rise against a "civilization" which has plunged the whole human race into the unspeakable misery of a butchery without end.*

In the entire capitalist world rules the *white terror against the working class.* The working class of Russia *has put an end to Czarism, whose bloody régime never called forth the protests of the neutral countries.* The working-classes of Russia have put an end to the rule of the bourgeoisie which, under the banner of the revolution and with the silent consent of the neutral countries, massacred the soldiers because they were no longer willing to shed their blood for the benefit of war speculators, *massacred the peasants* because they declared the soil to be their property—the land they had tilled for hundreds of years and had watered with their sweat.

The majority of the Russian people, as represented in the second congress of the workers, peasants, soldiers, and Cossack deputies,

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placed the governmental power in the hands of the workers and peasants. *A handful of capitalists* who desired to repossess themselves of the factories and banks taken from them on behalf of the people; *a handful of landowners* who want to take again from the peasants the land they now hold; *a handful of generals* who again want to teach docility to the workers and peasants with a whip—*have refused to recognize* the decision of the Russian people. With *the money of foreign capitalists they have mobilized counter-revolutionary bandits,* by whose aid they cut Russia off *from bread* so that the bony hand of hunger may strangle the Russian revolution. Having convinced themselves of the impossibility of overthrowing the workers' government supported by the masses of the workers, they organize *counter-revolutionary riots* in order to prevent the workers' and peasants' Government from pursuing its constructive work, in order to prevent it from freeing the country from the anarchy into which the criminal policy of former Governments has plunged it. They have *betrayed Russia in the North, in the South, and in the East to foreign imperialist states* by calling foreign bayonets from wherever they could get them. Hidden behind a forest of foreign bayonets, they send hired assassins to destroy the leaders of the working-class in whom not only the proletariat of Russia but the entire human race sees the personification of its hopes. *The Russian working people will crush mercilessly this counter-revolutionary clique* which, with the aid of foreign capital and the Russian bourgeoisie, wants once more to put the slave's noose around the neck of the Russian people.

We declare to the proletariat of the entire world that neither hypocritical protests nor specious pleas will protect from punishment those who, on behalf of capital, rise in arms against the workers and the poor peasants, and who would again starve them and entangle them in new wars in the interest of capitalism. We assure equal rights and equal freedom to all those who loyally fulfil their duty as citizens of the Socialist workers' and peasants' republic. *To those we bring peace, but to our enemies we bring merciless war.* We are convinced that the masses of the people of all countries, suppressed and tortured by a mere handful of exploiters, will understand *that in Russia force is used only in the name of the sacred cause of the liberation of the masses of the people; we are convinced that not only will they understand but that they will also follow us.*

We reject, emphatically, interference on the part of neutral capitalist Powers in behalf of the Russian bourgeoisie, and declare *that any attempt on the part of the representatives of these Powers to go beyond the boundaries of the lawful protection of their own nationals will be regarded as an attempt to give support to the Russian counter-revolution.*

People's Commissary of Foreign Affairs,
G. W. TSCHITSCHERIN

Russian News Bulletins

THANKS to the censorship maintained by the United States and the Allies, it appears not to be generally known in this country that the Soviet Government has for some time maintained at Berne a press bureau for the dissemination of information regarding Russian affairs. The bulletins of the bureau are issued in French and German under the title of *Russian News.* The first six of the following items are taken from No. 126 of these bulletins, dated October 1; the remainder from No. 127, dated October 2.

First All-Russian Conference of the Narodniki-Communist Party

Moscow, September 28.—The sessions of the first All-Russian conference of the Narodniki-Communist party were opened. Delegates have arrived from Moscow, Petrograd, and other cities, in all thirty-five persons. The speech of welcome was made by Oporin, who pointed out the brief existence of the party, the great sympathy for it on the part of local organizations, and the attempt to gather the scattered forces of the former Social Revolutionists of the Left. The several speakers dwelt in detail on the difficult position of the local organizations after the events of July 6 and 7. The Petrograd representatives of the Left Social-Revolutionary party reported that the Petrograd organization has decided upon complete attachment to the party of the Narodniki-Communists.

As to the Organization of the Economic Life of Soviet Russia

The Russian economic journal *Volkswirthschaft* (Nos. 6-7) reports the founding of a new institute for economic research, composed of forty persons. Besides the directors of the economic seminaries of the Moscow high schools, and of a number of party members having a literary reputation in the field of economics, a number of theoreticians have been drawn into the work in an advisory capacity.

Establishment of Saccharine Works in Russia

The *New Way,* organ of the Soviets for political economy of the North, reports the establishment of several saccharine works. The first factories are to be erected at Moscow.

Exchange of Commodities in Russia

The Central Organization for Commodities has sent into many parts of the country commissions to build up an organization for the exchange of commodities. The first reports come from Tambov. Great quantities of merchandise, especially textiles, matches, salt, and tobacco, were taken along to be exchanged for grain. Government magazines are to be erected for the sale of textiles by means of a card system.

Mining in Russia in 1918

Of iron ore, 141,651,843 poods [1 pood equals 40 lbs.] have been mined; also 1,035,220 poods of manganese ore. In the iron and manganese mines 3,253 men were employed, 147 less than during the preceding year.

In the course of the month of July there have been produced at the smelters 612,039 poods of cast iron; 229,350 poods of Martin iron; 241,894 poods of bar iron; 13,241 poods of sheet iron; 4,375 poods of metal ties; 162,236 poods of wire, and 26,000 poods of other articles. During July 19,867 men were engaged at the works.

The following works are idle: Radiev, Olchov, Russian, Providance, Nikopol-Mariumpol, Konstantinov, and Kertsch. At the Dnieper works a Martin oven was put in operation on July 27. The Donez-Jurger works began operations in the rolling mills on July 15, the production being about 55,000 poods per day. On August 15, 1918, the number of men employed in the mining region at coal mining and on coke ovens was 71,765, which is 898 less than were working on August 1.

Exchange of Commodities Between Russia and Germany

In regard to the exchange of commodities with Germany, *Pravda* has published an article from which we quote the following:

"The mainspring of capitalist economy is profit, hence the endeavor to conquer new world markets. Capitalists do not pay any attention to the question as to whether or not, from the standpoint of the population, it is advisable or useful to export this or that article of daily use; the greatest possible profit is the only thing that governs. We know, for instance, that at a time when in our villages no sugar could be distributed, hogs were fattened in England with our sugar. Also hundreds of thousands of poods of flour were exported while in many regions in Russia famine prevailed. Such instances might be quoted by the hundreds. The war has upset the old system of international commodity exchange. All the means and all the strength of the warring powers were concentrated on the continuation and intensification of the butchery. Production for foreign and for inland markets has been severely curtailed, and we are eye-witnesses how all the nations resort to strict registration and control of imports and exports.

"We Russians, who have inaugurated the Soviets, the government of and by the city and rural proletariat, are in all likelihood destined to lay the foundation of a new system of international commodity exchange which, in place of 'free competition,' or, to express it more clearly, in place of the organized and forcible seizure of world markets, will introduce new Socialist principles.

"We represent the principle of the re-erection of our economic life destroyed by the war. The nation becomes the only buyer and seller on the international market. And, although the international bourgeoisie assumes towards this innovation an attitude of disapproval, we are nevertheless in possession of a number of propositions on the part of foreign firms who desire to establish commercial relations with us. This proves that the position of the Soviet Government is regarded as sufficiently stable and that this fact is recognized in capitalist circles.

"As a matter of course, the Soviet Government must enter upon such arrangements in order to ease our economic life. If we demand grain of the peasants, we must in exchange give them agricultural machinery; and if the latter is offered to us in abundance by imperialist Sweden, it would be a crime not to make such an arrangement. Among the many offers there are also some by big German firms. Naturally, we give due consideration to such offers; we ascertain what are our requirements of coal and what we may be able to supply in exchange.

"Our condition in regard to coal and other fuel is rather a difficult one at this moment. Even before the war we imported coal. The importation of foreign coal increased in proportion to the growth of our industries, and reached its highest point in 1913, with import figures of 473,500,000 poods of coal. This came chiefly from England and from Germany. During the war the coal exports from England declined very much; we received, for instance, during 1915, only one-twelfth the quantity of coal as compared with 1913, in all 40,000,000 poods. In 1917 we received but a very small quantity, and in 1918 the importation of coal stopped entirely. Along with the decline of imports, coal production in our own coun-

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try declined also. During the revolution, the bourgeoisie did its very best to prevent the mining of coal; shafts were purposely flooded, etc.

"Even if the Dnetzki basin were at our disposal, it would take considerable time to reëstablish the normal yield. In Petrograd the shortage of fuel is particularly severe. According to a calculation of the section of the Soviet for the northern fuel region, our coal supply (inclusive of the coal of the lake region, assigned by us to the said section) amounts in all to 1,800,000 poods.

"Of the 12,000,000 poods of naphtha, designed by the Upper Soviet for Political Economy for the northern region, not more than 2,500,000-3,000,000 poods are available for Petrograd, and, together with what is on hand, we shall have no more than about 4,000,000 poods at our disposal. Assuming that the heating capacity of one pood of naphtha is equal to that of one and one-half poods of coal, we shall have in Petrograd 8,000,000 poods of fuel. In this quantity is included what can be transported by sea prior to the freezing of the Petrograd harbor. There is a possibility that, in this respect, we may get less than expected; a greater quantity can scarcely be hoped for.

"The research work undertaken for the purpose of locating new coal deposits may lead to positive results, but not before the opening of the next shipping season.

"Thus we must manage to get along with this quantity of fuel for the next ten months. We must still consider wood, but here, too, the situation is none too good. We received this year from the beginning of the shipping season until July 16 about one-half as much wood as in the same period of the preceding year."

Exchange of Commodities with Foreign Countries

The Commissariat for Commerce has begun the work of stimulating the exchange of commodities with foreign countries. In preparation therefor large quantities of hemp, flax, bristles, and metal junk are being purchased. The purchasing is done by the Upper Soviet for Political Economy and by the co-operatives. The commodities so purchased are being stored in the Petrograd dépôts.

Artificial Irrigation in Turkestan

Isvestia, in its No. 199, has a report of a session of the executive committee of the Upper Soviet for Political Economy at which a statement was received in regard to the activity of the administration having charge of the work of irrigation in Turkestan. In the space of three months the administration has accomplished considerable work. Experienced engineers have been engaged; an official method of control was organized within the administration; much equipment was purchased from a private concern in Bokhara; with the aid of the Pirogoff Company it has been possible to obtain medicines to combat malaria. This is the more important since the rate of sickness in some places went up 100 per cent., and only by prophylactic measures has this rate been reduced to from 30 to 20 per cent. For the time-being the preliminary work of the administration must be considered ended, and to-day the first train will leave for the scene of operations. Agencies have been organized along the line at Moscow, Saratov, Astrachan, Krasnovodsk, Aschabad, and Taschkent.

In the statement of the administration a programme of great scope has been worked out bearing upon the rational cultivation of cotton, the exportation of which would secure to Russia a dominant position in the world's cotton market. Upon our former sources of supply, England and America, we cannot count. The only way to meet our own needs lies in the development of home production of cotton. To this end it is intended to organize a broad scheme of colonization in Middle Asia, where an area of something like 5,000,000 dessiatines [1 dessiatine equals 2.7 acres], suitable for cotton culture, is available.

The referee submitted a detailed map showing the irrigation works at Golodnostensk. In the Golodnostensk region it is intended to found two hundred colonies and five garden cities, which are intended to become commercial and industrial centres. Rail connections, roads, telephone systems, and water-power plants are to be built.

Requisition of Dwellings in Moscow

Bourgeois circles in Moscow are spreading hair-raising tales about the atrocities said to have been committed by the Bolsheviki in the matter of dwelling requisitions. In *Isvestia* (No. 198) there is published a declaration by Kamenev, who, on the strength of personal observation, makes clear the true state of affairs in the matter of housing in Moscow. According to him all rumors about excesses committed against former tenants in the act of dispossession are pure inventions. Purposely misleading, also, are the statements made as to the reasons for dispossession. In reality, the Soviet Government was forced to take in hand the rationing of dwellings, because the working-class of Moscow lives under very bad housing conditions, the dark and damp dwellings forming breeding places for all sorts of epidemics. The matter of dwelling requisitions is in the hands of special factory committees, and these examine each house carefully and determine whether this or that locality shall be occupied by workers' families (not, as has been claimed, exclusively by Bolsheviki). The right to requisition dwellings belongs only to the local Soviets and their dwelling commissions. These are governed by the following rules: The workers and members of the Soviets who belong to the party of the Communists (Bolsheviki) are not subject to requisitions, and are permitted to remain in their tenements; non-members of the Communist party, in case of dispossession, are supplied with other housing. Workingmen and other persons following a useful occupation can be dispossessed only if other suitable rooms are placed at their disposal. To persons in this category belong also, as a matter of course, physicians, scientists, artists, etc., to whom sufficient space must be granted not only for dwelling purposes, but also to enable them to pursue their vocations. Dispossession pure and simple is applied to parasitic elements leading an idle life on incomes obtained without work. Property in realties is requisitioned only from such persons as have to be banished from Moscow or who are hiding in the city.

Labor Communes for Children

Through the initiative of the People's Commissary for Social Maintenance of the Government of Nizhnii-Novgorod the first labor communes for children were founded there. Under the guidance of competent female teachers, children between the ages of three and fifteen years spent the summer on the estate Simenki, where they lived and worked on a communist basis. For next year a communist children's colony is contemplated where agriculture on a large scale will be pursued.

Musical Department of the People's Commissariat for Popular Education

The activity of this department comprises chiefly work along the line of musical literature, the preparation of a new musical programme for the schools, and the publication of a weekly paper on popular music, as well as the work of the special ethnographic commission for music.

The Secret Treaty of London

THE text of the secret treaty, concluded at London on April 26, 1915, by which Great Britain, France and Russia accepted the terms demanded by Italy as the price of its participation in the war, was first published by the Soviet Government of Russia at the end of November, 1917. On May 24, 1915, Italy declared war against Austria-Hungary. On June 20, 1918, Mr. Balfour, speaking in the House of Commons in opposition to a motion which called for a revision of secret treaties with the Allied Governments, on the ground that "in their present form they are inconsistent with the objects for which this country entered the war, and are therefore a barrier to a democratic peace," declared that "to these treaties we stand. The national honor is bound up with them. . . . We mean to keep to the full to the bargain we have made."

The Italian Ambassador in London, Marchese Imperiali, on instructions from his Government, has the honor to communicate to the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Sir Edward Grey, to the French Ambassador, M. Cambon, and to the Russian Ambassador, Count Benckendorff, the following memorandum:

I. The Great Powers of France, Great Britain, Russia, and Italy shall, without delay, draw up a military convention, by which are to be determined the minimum of military forces which Russia will be bound to place against Austria-Hungary, in the event of the latter throwing all her forces against Italy. This military convention will also regulate the problems relating to a possible armistice, in so far as these do not by their very nature fall within the competence of the Supreme Command.

II. Italy on her part undertakes to conduct the war with all means at her disposal, in agreement with France, Great Britain, and Russia, and against the states which are at war with them.

III. The naval forces of France and Great Britain will lend Italy their active coöperation until such time as the Austrian fleet shall be destroyed, or till the conclusion of peace. France, Great Britain, and Italy shall in this connection conclude without delay a naval convention.

IV. By the future treaty of peace Italy shall receive: the Trentino; the whole of Southern Tyrol, as far as its natural and geographical frontier, the Brenner; the city of Trieste and its surroundings; the county of Gorizia and Gradisca; the whole of Istria as far as the Quarnero, including Volosca and the Istrian Islands, Cherso and Lussin, as also the lesser islands of Plavnik, Unia, Canidoli, Paluzzuola, S. Pietro Nerovio, Asinello, and Gruica, with their neighboring islets.

NOTE 1.—In carrying out what is said in Article IV the frontier

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line shall be drawn along the following points: from the summit of Umbrile northwards to the Stelvio, then along the watershed of the Rhætian Alps as far as the sources of the rivers Adige and Eisach, then across the Mounts Reschem and Brenner and the Etz and Ziller peaks. The frontier then turns southwards, touching Mount Toblach, in order to reach the present frontier of Carniola, which is near the Alps. Along this frontier the line will reach Mount Tarvis and will follow the watershed of the Julian Alps beyond the crests of Predil, Mangart, and Tricorno, and the passes of Podberdo, Podlansko, and Idria. From here the line will run in a south-east direction towards the Schneeberg, in such a way as not to include the basin of the Save and its tributaries in Italian territory. From the Schneeberg the frontier will descend towards the sea coast, including Castua, Matuglia, and Volosca as Italian districts.

V. In the same way Italy shall receive the province of Dalmatia in its present extent, including further to the north Lissarika and Trebinje, and to the south all places as far as a line starting from the sea close to Cape Planca and following the watershed eastward in such a way as to place in Italian hands all the valleys whose rivers enter the sea near Sebenico—namely, the Cikola, Krka, and Butišnjica, with their tributaries. To Italy also will belong all the islands north and west of the Dalmatian coast, beginning with Premuda, Selve, Ulbo, Skerda, Maon, Pago, and Puntadura, and further north, and reaching to Meleda southwards, with the addition of the islands of S. Andrea, Busi, Lissa, Lesina, Tercola, Curzola, Cazza, and Lagosta, and all the surrounding islets and rocks, and hence Pelagosa also, but without the islands of Grande and Piccola Zirona, Buje, Solta, and Brazza.

The following shall be neutralized: (1) The whole coast from Cape Planca on the north to the southern point of the peninsula of Sabbioncello on the south, this peninsula being included in the neutral zone. (2) Part of the coast from a point 10 kilometres south of Ragusavecchia as far as the river Vojussa on the south, so as to include in the neutralized zone the whole gulf of Cattaro with its ports, Antivari, Dulcigno, S. Giovanni di Medua, and Durazzo; with the reservation that Montenegro's rights are not to be infringed, in so far as they are based on the declarations exchanged between the contracting parties in April and May, 1909. These rights being recognized solely for Montenegro's present possessions, they shall not be extended to such regions and ports as may in the future be assigned to Montenegro. Hence no part of the coast which to-day belongs to Montenegro shall be subject to neutralization in the future. But all legal restrictions regarding the port of Antivari—to which Montenegro herself gave her adhesion in 1909—remain in vigor. (3) All the islands not assigned to Italy.

NOTE 2.—The following districts on the Adriatic shall by the work of the Entente Powers be included in the territory of Croatia, Serbia, and Montenegro: To the north of the Adriatic the whole coast beginning at the Gulf of Volosca, near the frontier of Italy, as far as the northern frontier of Dalmatia, including the whole coast to-day belonging to Hungary; the whole coast of Croatia, the port of Fiume, and the small ports of Nevi and Carlopago, and in the same way the islands of Veglia, Pervicio, Gregorio, Kali, and Arbe; to the south of the Adriatic, where Serbia and Montenegro are interested, the whole coast from Cape Planka to the river Drin, with the very important ports of Spalato, Ragusa, Cattaro, Antivari, Dulcigno, and S. Giovanni di Medua, as also the islands of Grande and Piccola Zirona, Buja, Solta, Brazza, Cikljan, and Calamotta.

The port of Durazzo can be assigned to the independent Mohammedan State of Albania.

VI. Italy shall obtain in full ownership Valona, the island of Saseno, and territory of sufficient extent to assure her against dangers of a military kind—approximately between the River Vonussa to the north and east, and the district of Shimar to the south.

VII. Having obtained Trentino and Istria by Article IV, Dalmatia and the Adriatic islands by Article V, and also the Gulf of Valona, Italy undertakes, in the event of a small autonomous and neutralized state being formed in Albania, not to oppose the possible desire of France, Great Britain, and Russia to partition the northern and southern districts of Albania between Montenegro, Serbia, and Greece. The southern coast of Albania, from the frontier of the Italian territory of Valona to Cape Stilos, is to be neutralized.

To Italy will be conceded the right of conducting the foreign relations of Albania; in any case Italy will be bound to secure for Albania a territory sufficiently extensive to enable its frontiers to join those of Greece and Serbia to the east of the Lake of Ohrida.

VIII. Italy shall obtain full possession of all the islands of the Dodecannese, at present occupied by her.

IX. France, Great Britain, and Russia recognize as an axiom the fact that Italy is interested in maintaining the political balance of power in the Mediterranean, and her right to take over, when Turkey is broken up, a portion equal to theirs in the Mediterranean—namely, in that part which borders on the province of Adalia, where Italy had already acquired special rights and interests, laid down in the Italo-British convention. The zone to be assigned to Italy will, in due course, be fixed in accordance with the vital interests of France and Great Britain. In the same way regard must be had for the interests of Italy, even in the event of the Powers maintaining for a further period of time the inviolability of Asiatic Turkey, and merely proceeding to map out spheres of interest among themselves. In the event of France, Great Britain, and Russia occupying during the present war districts of Asiatic Turkey, the whole district bordering on Adalia and defined above in greater detail, shall be reserved to Italy, which reserves the right to occupy it.

X. In Libya, Italy obtains recognition of all those rights and prerogatives hitherto reserved to the Sultan by the Treaty of Lausanne.

XI. Italy shall receive a military contribution corresponding to her strength and sacrifices.

XII. Italy associates herself with the declaration made by France, Great Britain, and Russia, by which the Mohammedan holy places are to be left in the possession of an independent Mohammedan state.

XIII. In the event of an extension of the French and British colonial possessions in Africa at the expense of Germany, France and Great Britain recognize in principle the right of Italy to demand for herself certain compensations, in the form of an extension of her possessions in Eritrea, Somaliland, Libya, and the colonial districts bordering on French and British colonies.

XIV. Great Britain undertakes to facilitate for Italy without delay and on favorable conditions the conclusion of a loan in the London market, amounting to not less than £50,000,000.

XV. France, Great Britain, and Russia undertake to support Italy, in so far as she does not permit the representatives of the Holy See to take diplomatic action with regard to the conclusion of peace and the regulation of questions connected with the war.

XVI. The present treaty is to be kept secret. As regards Italy's adherence to the declaration of 5 September, 1914, this shall only be published after the declaration of war by and upon Italy.

The representatives of France, Great Britain, and Russia, having taken cognizance of this memorandum, and being furnished with powers for this purpose, agreed as follows with the representative of Italy, who was also authorized by his Government for this purpose:

France, Great Britain, and Russia declare their full agreement with the present memorandum presented to them by the Italian Government. With regard to points I, II, and III (relating to the co-ordination of the military and naval operations of all four Powers), Italy declares that she will enter the war actively as soon as possible, and in any case not later than one month after the signature of the present document on behalf of the contracting parties.

(Signed in four copies, 26 April, 1915.)

EDWARD GREY, JULES CAMBON, IMPERIALI, BENCKENDORFF

The
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Foreign Press

The Russian Red Cross

THE *Daily Review of the Foreign Press* (October 23), issued by the British War Office, prints the text of a proclamation, transmitted by Russian wireless October 21, which the Central Council of Trade Unions, embracing all the economic organizations of the working classes and numbering 12,000,000 members, has addressed "to all groups of the Russian population, to all classes, and to all peoples."

The heroic Red Army of workmen and peasants is fighting gallantly for the independence of the Russian Republic and for the freedom of mankind from the yoke of exploiters. The heroic Red Army, in spite of all the difficult conditions, is victorious along the whole front, and its successes at Samara and Syzran, on the Volga, and at Tsaritsyn, have a considerable importance. But while defending the populations of Soviet Russia against the atrocities of counter-revolutionary terrorism, the Red Army requires that we should care for it. The workmen, peasants, and all educated and honest persons in Russia must do their moral duty towards the Red Army, in which our brothers are serving. It is necessary to create a Red Cross service. The Red Cross must always be an international and inter-class organization, and must care for the wounded independently of their nationality and class. By well organizing the Red Cross it is possible to do much for the defence of the interests of prisoners of war and of the wounded. It is regrettable to have to state that the Red Cross which formerly existed in Russia was based upon bourgeois charity, the controllers of which were often guilty of thefts, so that it had to be dissolved by a decree of the Council of the People's Commissariat of January 6, 1918. The new Red Cross must be organized by the workingmen themselves. All workmen must contribute to this work through their trade union and other workingmen's organizations.

The Central Council of the Trade Unions proposes to all associations and unions to send their donations to the Red Cross, and to delegate at least ten members from each general association.

The Siberian Duma

A SUMMARY of the speech delivered by M. Vologotsky, President of the Council of Ministers, at the reopening of the Siberian Duma at Tomsk, is given by a Peking correspondent of the *Celestial Empire*, the weekly edition of the *Shanghai Mercury*, under date of September 22.

Telegrams from Omsk recently reported the assembly of the Siberian Duma at Tomsk and its adjournment pending the introduction of more adequate representation of property-owning classes.

At the reopening of the Duma, M. Vologotsky, President of the Council of Ministers, was greeted with loud applause. He said that the Omsk Government would support the Duma and assist in making it an organ of real public representation. He did not look upon Siberia as being severed from the rest of Russia. All their efforts should be towards the restoration of a single Russian state and the repudiation of the Brest-Litovsk treaty. With that object in view the Siberian Government supported the convening of a conference at Cheliabinsk to consider what measures were necessary to create an All-Russian power and decided to take an active part and hasten the conference.

Their relations with the Czecho-Slovaks, with whom they were united by the bonds of common origin and similar political aims, were most cordial. The Siberian Government received its authority from the Duma, which had elected the Council of Ministers constituting the Government, and the Government was the supreme power. To carry out its object of guarding interests of the Russian people, firm discipline and an unwavering policy were necessary. Democratic in its policy, the Government had secured the support and recognition of all classes and organizations. A strong civil power would obviate the necessity for a rigorous military régime, and, therefore, the militia had been placed under Commissioners. There were no reactionary tendencies in the army, however. The army was perfectly loyal to the Government and it did not interfere with politics. The army already consisted of 200,000 men, 13,000 of whom were recruits of the 1918 and 1919 classes.

The observance of law was an indispensable condition of healthy normal life. Bolsheviki decrees had been abolished and the laws of the Russian Provisional Government were again being enforced. The Ministry of Justice was drafting a set of laws to govern village tribunals and had under consideration the establishment of native courts and a Supreme Court of Siberia. Support of the Zemstvos was a fundamental determination of the Government. Special attention would be given to questions affecting public health and the formation of benevolent institutions to assist refugees and immigrants.

With regard to public instruction attention would be given chiefly to elementary and technical education. Normal schools would be under the control of the Zemstvos. The Government hoped to institute a second Siberian university at Omsk in September.

The Ministry of Commerce and Industry was taking measures to restore enterprise by private capital and individual initiative. Many new commercial laws would be passed, including one allowing the free sale of gold.

The Government intended to guard the best interests of workmen. Labor commissariats were being organized which would exercise reasonable control over employers and employes alike. Unnecessary restrictions on private trade were being removed, but complete freedom of trade was not advisable yet as it was necessary to restrain profiteering. Attention has been given to the matter of supplies, and large numbers of cattle and 170,000 tons of hay had been purchased, while sugar was being procured for the people. A series of measures had been adopted to restore railway and water transport.

A Council for Native Affairs had been created and native assemblies would be convened to operate where other organizations did not exist. Free development of every nationality would be assisted by autonomy.

Siberian finances were in a satisfactory condition. Expenditure was considerable, but so were the monetary resources of the people. This was proved by the uninterrupted flow of deposits into banks. The Government opened credits to the amount of R.35,000,000, including R.34,000,000 for military expenditure, R.15,000,000 for railways, R.3,500,000 for the Tcheremhovo coal mines, and R.2,000,000 for the Kyshtym iron works. Current accounts in the State Bank reached R.370,000,000, and in private banks R.229,000,000. The capital of the State Bank was R.235,000,000, and of private banks R.29,000,000. The Government's financial policy was closely allied with the management of the forests, which were one of the most material resources of the treasury. Measures were being framed for the protection and exploitation of forests.

The Government had no objection to the nationalization of land, but it would take no responsibility for such a measure, particularly because the All-Russian Constituent Assembly had waived decision in favor of the Siberian Constituent Assembly. The dissipation of the colonization fund, however, would be a calamity. The Government would thoroughly reorganize immigrant institutions and bring them into close touch with the Zemstvos. . . .

Allied Espionage in Russia

THE following account of a case of alleged Allied espionage, transmitted by Russian wireless October 22, is taken from the *Daily Review of the Foreign Press* (October 24), issued by the British War Office. The case here cited is one of several of which accounts have appeared in the Russian newspapers, and in connection with which a number of British and American citizens have been mentioned.

The Extraordinary Commission has already arrested the principal agents of the Anglo-Franco-American espionage, directed by Kalamatiano. The last-named had been charged to organize an intelligence service by Sommers, the American Consul. He was sent to Samara with a secret mission, but was arrested on his return. The spies made use of the commercial firm of Claude Pankivel, and met at the offices of the American house of William Kember Hatts (Watts?), of the Passage du Théâtre, No. 8. The assistant of Kalamatiano was one Friede, who had succeeded in getting himself nominated as Secretary of the Chief of Military Communications. Friede enlisted the services of Sagriavovsky, Shovalansky, Potemkin, and Solus, and his sister. All these persons had succeeded in getting themselves appointed in Soviet institutions. The journalist Izhevsky, a collaborator of the *Mir*, was also really a spy. The Americans prepared agents to work for their views, to whom they paid anything from R.1,000 to R.6,000 a month. Kalamatiano disbursed very large sums, and Friede, for example, received R.500,000. The Anglo-French made payments indiscriminately. For example, it is known that the English officer, Reilly, paid out within three days R.1,200,000 to Benzine, the Commander of a Brigade. This honest officer lost no time in bringing this money to the Treasury of the Soviet Government. Reilly got into intimate relations with women whom he thought would become useful agents for him. All the Allied agents had diplomatic passports. Izhevsky and others had certifications from the American firm, Pankivel. Further details will be made public later on.

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German Self-Determination in Austria

A discussion of the practical application of the principle of self-determination to the Germans in Austria, taken from an article entitled "The German Austrian State" in the Vienna *Arbeiter Zeitung*, is contained in an Amsterdam dispatch of October 14.

For this there are two possibilities: First, the creation of three German-Austrian states, namely, one inner Austrian state comprising Lower and Upper Austria, and the adjoining German districts of South Moravia, South Bohemia, the German territories of Syria, Carinthia and Tyrol, Salzburg, and Vorarlberg; secondly, a German Bohemian state comprising the German districts of North Bohemia, North-west and West Bohemia from the Giant Mountains as far as the Boehmer Forest, and, finally, a Silesian and North Moravian state comprising West Silesia and the adjoining German districts of North Moravia and East Bohemia. These German states will be united with the states of other races of Austria into a federal state, thus forming with the Czech, South Slav, and Hungarian states, etc., an Austrian federation of states. If, however, other races do not desire such a federal state, or desire it only in a form in which German-Austrian territories would be condemned to economic restrictions, then the three German-Austrian states would have to join the German Empire as separate federal states; that is to say, they would constitute a state tie with Germany which, severed in 1866, would be joined again in a fresh form. Within the German Empire the three Austrian states would naturally possess a like state of independence to that possessed by Bavaria, Saxony, Baden, etc. Most of the Germans of Austria have for the present only the first possibility of such a scheme in mind. If, however, the Czechs want to be entirely independent, they must reckon with the fact that their state will be enveloped by the German Empire on the north, west, and south. But the Entente, too, must know that it cannot smash up Austria without pushing ten million Germans into the German Empire. The Germany we joined, however, would no longer be the imperialistic Germany of yesterday, but the democratic Germany that has arisen in consequence of the war, and whose new federal members would themselves be democratic states.

Ireland at the Peace Conference

THE *Manchester Guardian* (October 18), in a leading editorial entitled "The Skeleton in the Cupboard," insists that the question of Ireland should be considered at the peace conference.

In the course of the next few months it is likely that we may be engaged, along with most of the other Great Powers, in settling the affairs of Europe in the peace conference on the basis of freedom and nationality. Would it be too much to ask that before, or at the same time as, we apply ourselves to that task we should pay some passing heed to the settling of a precisely analogous and not at all less pressing problem of our own? Let it be realized at once that it will be entirely impossible to exclude the question of Ireland from the purview of the peace conference. There will be a demand, of course—it has been made already—for direct representation of Ireland by the Irish at the conference. It will no doubt be refused. Yet, after all, Ireland may put forward a claim not less worthy of attention than that, say, of the Czecho-Slovaks or of the Jugoslavs, whose case will occupy the very serious attention of the conference and whose spokesmen will presumably be heard. No doubt it will be said that Parliament, and not the peace conference, is the tribunal to which Nationalist Ireland should carry her griefs, that it is a purely domestic matter with which nobody but ourselves is competent to deal, and that any attempt to take it out of our hands and bring external opinion, let alone external action, to bear would be instantly and uncompromisingly resisted. To all which it might be answered on behalf of Ireland that she admits the prior right of Parliament, that she would gladly appeal to it, that indeed she has appealed to it, appealed persistently for a whole generation through her representatives in that Parliament (and for how many previous generations in every way known to her?); that Parliament has from time to time listened, that it has even busied itself about a bill, that the bill is said to have become an act and to be even now "on the statute-book," but that somehow nothing comes of it, and that, for all the good to Ireland, it might just as well be in the wastepaper basket. It might further be alleged by Ireland's advocate that not only is this so, not only is the cup dashed from Ireland's lip, not only is nothing done to help her and satisfy a claim long since admitted to be just, but that all the work and progress of the last thirty years is in process of being undone, that Parliament now stops its ears to the very name of Ireland, that such liberties as she has won are day by day being taken away from her, that the methods of government now in force are the methods of the old coercion days, with the difference that many of those who now carry them out are the men who have long since repudiated the whole policy of coercion as futile and disastrous; that the Prime Minister, who is ultimately responsible for all that happens or does not happen in Ireland, was once known as a friend of Irish freedom, as of the freedom of other small nations, but that no word of help or release comes from him; that, on the contrary, whereas in old days his political opponents lashed Ireland with whips, he has attempted and is even now threatening to lash her with scorpions, and that in all England no effective voice is raised in protest on her behalf. . . .

How is it possible, in the eye of the world and of the peace conference, to draw any line of distinction between the case of Ireland and the case of other subject nationalities? There has been infinite reluctance on the part of this country to recognize that there is such a thing as Irish nationality. Yet there it is staring us in the face, as it has stood through all our history, ready even yet to be reconciled, but demanding, and justly demanding with insistence, recognition and remedy. True it is, no doubt, that the question is not simple; that there are two Irelands and that their claims clash. Of what other subject nationality cannot the same thing be said? Of which of the half-dozen or dozen small peoples whose claims the peace conference will be called upon to adjust is it not also true that they contain within them disparate and dissenting elements? In all these cases adjustments will have to be made, compromises arranged, securities given. Why is the case of Ireland to be treated as wholly different? Why is her dissenting minority to be accorded something more than securities and the fairest possible treatment? Why is it to be permitted forever to bar the way to peace? We do not know whether the problem is too hard for the present Government. Possibly the reason why its policy has appeared to develop on the side of violence and provocation rather than on that of statesmanship and appeasement is that the will, or the power, for the second of these policies is lacking, and that the Government, or the predominant forces within it, have consciously or unconsciously sought to cover this dreadful defect and failure by a course which substitutes force for policy and is reckless of liberty, reckless of blood. There is time yet for consideration, for a better mind, but the time runs short. It is a critical choice—for the Government as a whole, above all for its head.

Japanese Imperialism

PROFESSOR PAUL SEIPPEL, of Zürich, writing in the *Journal de Genève* (September 30), expresses the opinion that Japanese imperialism will hinder the formation of a league of nations and require the Anglo-Saxon nations to continue to maintain their navies.

Japan is the antithesis of the United States. Its people is strictly realistic. In politics, the moral idea does not exist for Japan, any more than it does for Prussia. What distinguishes it from Prussia is its refined civilization, and the fact that up to now it has made a point of respecting its international engagements. We can therefore give it our confidence for the time-being. But the Japanese would still keep their plans of conquest, even if the Europeans gave up theirs. This war does not convey any lesson to them; they perceive in it no moral significance. "In the European conflicts," says M. Bellessort, "they see only the violent collision of national interests, and distrust ideas of right and justice." Their newspapers betray complete indifference concerning our discussions on the society of nations. Even if, as we firmly hope, German imperialism is overthrown and reduced to impotence, there will still remain in the Far East another imperialism, which will be the greatest obstacle to the disarmament demanded by all the peoples of Europe as the sole means of escaping absolute ruin. To keep in awe this ally of to-day, who may become the obstructive rival of to-morrow, the Anglo-Saxon nations will assuredly be obliged to retain, at the very least, a sufficient naval armament.

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Notes

AN interesting analysis of the principles and prospects of the Conservative and Liberal parties in Great Britain is contributed by J. M. Robertson, M. P., to a recent number of *Everyman*. What distinguishes Liberalism from Socialism is "the principle of facing each new step in terms of the needs and experiences of the existing situation." It is Liberalism, accordingly, that keeps British politics "sanely and safely progressive." Hence it must ally itself with the idea of a league of nations, and must solve the Irish problem by giving Home Rule, not only to Ireland but to other sections of the United Kingdom, if the present Government fails to do so. The Conservatives, on the other hand, who have been since 1903 substantially a protectionist party, have, in Mr. Robertson's opinion, been practically Unionist only between 1910 and 1914; and once the issue of Home Rule is removed, the party will have to decide whether or not it will continue to represent the profiteering interests which now clamor for a protective tariff. As for the tasks of reconstruction, they, the writer thinks, will be carried through only by the new sectional Parliaments of England, Ireland, Scotland, and Wales, for the reason that the existing Parliament of the United Kingdom will, in the new order of things, deal mainly with finance and international relations.

A REPORT on "Industrial and Social Conditions in Relation to Adult Education," presented to the British Ministry of Reconstruction by a Committee on Adult Education, recommends such regulation of industry as will afford to workers the opportunities for educational development which are now lacking. As steps towards humanizing the industrial system, the Committee recommend the increased use of mechanical devices in heavy work, a mitigation of the depressing monotony of certain kinds of labor, stricter control of working hours, and a shorter working day. The importance of holidays, together with payment for such days, is also urged. In addition, a reasonable security of livelihood, perhaps by extension of the principle of insurance, should be guaranteed to the worker, and the question of unemployment should be considered. The Committee advocate the inclusion of women in the membership of the committees which it proposes should be formed for the consideration of housing, town planning, public health, and other matters.

A MANIFESTO issued by the British National Alliance of Employers and Employed calls upon the Government to summon "a thoroughly representative round-table conference" to consider the labor situation and frame a national policy for the prevention of strikes. "It is difficult," the manifesto declares, "to discover that Governmental departments are paying sufficient regard to the experience of the past four years. It is still more difficult to discover that the Government has any coördinated industrial policy capable of meeting events as they occur now." What is needed is a policy "not of drift but of prevention; one that shall be capable of direct and effective application before strikes occur, that will meet after-war conditions as well as present needs, and that shall either convert or destroy all the disruptive groups in the country." One of the signers of the manifesto is J. Havelock Wilson, head of the Merchant Seamen's Union.

THE British Ministry of Reconstruction has begun the issuance of a series of pamphlets dealing with reconstruction problems. The first, entitled "The Aims of Reconstruction," is a compilation from the speeches of Dr. Addison, the Minister of Reconstruction, outlining the main problems of reconstruction, such as shipping, finance, joint industrial councils, etc. The second, entitled "Housing in England and Wales," gives data showing the estimated deficiency in housing—300,000-400,000 for England and Wales alone—and summarizes the steps which are being taken to meet the situation.

CANADA has appointed an economic commission for Siberia. The members are C. F. Just, Chief Canadian Trade Commissioner in Russia; W. D. Wilgress, Canadian Trade Commissioner at Vladivostok; Colonel J. S. Dennis, liaison officer of the Canadian Siberian Expedition, and Ross Owen, transportation representative in Russia of the Canadian Pacific Railway. Three other members representing agricultural, mining and banking interests will be designated later. According to the Toronto *Globe*, the Commission "will be expected to make a careful study of local conditions in Siberia, both economical and social, to inquire into transportation facilities, to ascertain the wants of the farming community in respect to agricultural implements and equipment, and to note the improvements in methods of handling grain, and in mining, forestry, and fishing operations." The Commission is also instructed "to investigate the opportunities, present and prospective, for increasing commercial interchanges between Russia and Canada, and to make recommendations as to the particular lines along which Canadian experience and industry might best be used to the rehabilitation of Russian business activities and the development of her vast natural resources."

A PAMPHLET entitled "Canada's War Effort," recently issued by the Director of Public Information at Ottawa, is a compilation of data regarding Canada's effort during the first four years of the war. The total number of enlistments in the Canadian Expeditionary Force from the beginning of the war to June 30, 1918, including those under the Military Service Act, is 552,601, of which number 383,523 have been sent overseas. The total casualties for the same period aggregated 159,084. The volume of domestic loans is $756,000,000, or about $100 per capita of the population. In addition to the domestic loans, securities totalling more than $207,000,000 have been issued in Great Britain and the United States. The total net debt of the Dominion, amounting before the war to about $336,000,000, is estimated at $1,200,000,000. The coinage of Newfoundland, formerly obtained from England, has for the last two years been produced at the Royal Mint at Ottawa.

A TREATY between Great Britain and Peru, concluded at Lima on July 16, creating a permanent commission for the adjustment of differences that may arise between the two countries, was announced to the House of Commons by Lord Robert Cecil on October 23.

A MOVEMENT in favor of the establishment by Great Britain of a federated government for the Fijian and other Pacific islands is reported to have been launched at a recent conference of the Fiji sugar planters. According to the *Christian Science Monitor*, which publishes a brief report of the conference, the incorporation of Fiji in the proposed federation was to be conditional upon a favorable expression of opinion on the question by the people of the colony.

THE origin and development of the Franco-Russian alliance may now be studied in a Yellow Book lately published by the French Government. The document comprises 107 letters exchanged between the Foreign Office and successive French ambassadors at Petrograd. The four sections of the correspondence deal respectively with the origins of the alliance between August, 1890, and January, 1892; the negotiations regarding a military convention in 1892; the conclusion of the convention in 1893, and the naval agreement between France and Russia in 1912.

A SHORT summary of the various governments which have been formed in Russia during the last few months may give some idea of the political complications which have arisen in the course of Allied intervention. On July 4, four days after the occupation of Vladivostok by British, Japanese and Czecho-Slovak troops, a new provisional government of Siberia, located at Vladivostok, issued a programme and announced an early convocation of the Constituent Assembly. On August 13 the Allied representatives agreed to the necessity of proclaiming martial law at Vladivostok owing, it was said, to the threatening attitude of the local Bolsheviki. In view of the lack of a reliable civil and police administration, martial law was again declared at Vladivostok and in the district of Vladivostok on September 25 by Colonel Butenko, provisional commander of the armed forces of the maritime province. Colonel Butenko was reported to have the recognition and support of the Allies. Another provisional Siberian government was formed at Omsk, and on July 15 it was announced that this government had combined with a government formed at Harbin. The government at Harbin, known as the "Far-Eastern Republic," was for a period under the presidency of Prince Lvoff. The leaders in the Omsk government were General Alexieff and the former Czar's brother, Grand Duke Michael Alexandrovitch. On July 23 it was announced that this provisional government had vested the supreme authority in Siberia in a Council of Ministers. The Council proclaimed the independence of Siberia, annulled all Bolshevist decrees, ordered the Soviets to close, reëstablished the Siberian Duma, and restored the landowners pending the decision of the Constituent Assembly. An independent movement started by General Horvath to establish a counter provisional government caused a conflict of authority, and on August 26 negotiations between the Horvath group and the Omsk government appeared to have reached a deadlock. Horvath's final attempt at a military *coup d'état* resulted in the Allies disarming the Horvath volunteers. This action was protested by the Knights of the Order of St. George, who commented upon the unscrupulous manner in which the Allies had disarmed the "Siberian Government troops." Subsequently, the Allies restored arms to the Horvath troops on the understanding that the latter would join the Cossack forces operating in Eastern Siberia under General Semenoff. A dispatch of September 19 from Vladivostok reported that conferences were in progress looking towards an amalgamation of the Omsk and Horvath governments on a basis calcu-

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lated to strengthen the Omsk group. On October 23 the Siberian government at Omsk sent an envoy to Vladivostok to ask recognition and support from the Allies. The Government of the North was established at Archangel early in August by a coalition of Cadets, Minimalists, members of the People's Party, and Social Democrats. Nicholas Tschaikovsky was at the head of this government until September 9, when it was overthrown by a force of Conservative officers led by Colonel Chaplin, and an Allied protectorate was set up. On September 20 Colonel Boris Androvitch Furoff became Governor-General of the region. He was reported to be responsible to the "new central government at Samara." On October 21 the Government of the North was reorganized and the supreme power restored to Tschaikovsky and a bourgeois cabinet. The Samara government was formed on August 29 by a convention of two hundred members of the Constituent Assembly, who elected a governmental directorate for the whole of Russia, composed of General Alexieff, Stepanoff, and Avksentieff. Less than two weeks later Samara was taken by the Bolsheviki. On August 22 a political movement said to favor the establishment of a constitutional monarchy was organized by Patriarch Tikhon of the Orthodox Church in the Moscow region. Another movement for a constitutional monarchy was inaugurated by Paul Miliukoff, who was reported on August 23 to have left the Cadet party and founded the "League for the Rebirth of Russia." As an immediate aim he demanded a temporary dictatorship, the first dictator to be Boris Siwukoff, with General Alexieff as his assistant. A dispatch from Moscow on August 28 reported that a widespread movement of Cossacks, Kirghiz, and Caucasian tribes was making progress under the leadership of General Kaledine. The Don region had previously organized an independent republic which was formally recognized by the Ukrainian Government on July 17, and on August 15 was reported to be treating with the Kuban Government and the bordering districts for the establishment of a common authority. The culminating effort to form a central government in Russia took place late in September at Ufa, where members of the Constituent Assembly, the zemstvos, various provisional governments, and certain representatives of the Cadet party met in convention and announced the formation of an All-Russian Government. It was announced that the convention had united the governments of Eastern and Western Siberia, Archangel, the Murman region, Samara, and the Volga region. The Convention voted "to transmit the supreme power over the whole territory of Russia to the Provisional Government, composed of five persons: Nicholas D. Avksentieff, Nicholas J. Astroff, Lieutenant General Vassili G. Boldyreff, Peter V. Vologodski, and Nicholas V. Tschaikovsky." A report of October 25 announced that the "All-Russian Government," following an invitation from the Siberian government, had removed to Omsk, and that both would coöperate with the Government of the North at Archangel in securing money and raising a national army. A conference at Vladivostok, reported in a dispatch of November 8, between three rival Siberian generals, Kalmikoff, Semenoff, and Horvath, and the Minister of War in the Omsk Cabinet, apparently ended without reaching any agreement. Each of the generals named is in command of a separate army operating in Siberia, and only one, General Semenoff, recognizes the authority of the Omsk government.

THE formation in France after the war of economic regions is the subject of an interesting article by Professor Henri Hauser, of the University of Dijon, in a recent issue of the *Tribune de Genève*. Before the war, as Professor Hauser points out, France suffered from excessive economic centralization. Capital tended to flow to Paris. The division of the country into departments no longer coincided with the course of industrial development; and since even small undertakings, like the building of a narrow gauge railway or the establishment of a central electrical station, frequently involved more than one department, the necessity of consulting many officials and of referring everything to Paris occasioned injurious delays. What is now going on in France is the consideration of a new administrative organization which shall take account of the regional capitals, the centres of communication, the groupings of interests and intellectual forces, which Vidal de la Blache, as early as 1910, recognized as already in existence. The city of Lyons, the centre of the silk industry, is an illustration of a region which itself creates other regions as its industries, its demand for raw materials, and its banking connections expand beyond the Rhone department. Professor Hauser urges the further utilization of chambers of commerce, under the direction of the Ministry of Commerce and Industry, in the study of the question, the drafting of necessary laws for the several regions, and similar matters. As the chambers of commerce are already permitted by law to federate in certain matters of common concern, the development of a regional economic life, which has already been begun, is a natural function of the federated bodies.

SOCIALIST newspapers, commenting upon the fortieth anniversary of the enactment of Bismarck's law against the Socialists, point out that the twelve years of suppression, during which approximately 1,500 persons were sentenced to imprisonment and 1,300 publications were suppressed, served to increase the voting strength of the party from 437,000 to 1,427,000. At the same time the number of Socialist papers rose from forty-two to sixty, and the membership of trade union organizations openly socialistic in tone increased from 50,000 to 200,000. At the last Reichstag election, that of 1912, the Socialists cast over a million and a quarter more votes than any other party—4,250,399 out of a total vote of 12,260,731.

THE formation of a "Union Néerlandaise de Commerce et de Navigation" by shipping and commercial interests of the Netherlands and Switzerland has lately been announced. The union aims to increase the volume of commerce on the Rhine and to free the river from German commercial control.

SWITZERLAND has been discussing the possibility of raising grain and other foodstuffs abroad, with the permission, of course, of the foreign Governments concerned. A commission appointed by the Federal Council to study the question reported in August that France was favorable to the establishment of a Swiss farming colony in Morocco, and would aid the enterprise. Algiers and Tunis were deemed less suitable, and the Ukraine, which was also considered, was judged to be too insecure on account of political conditions. It has been decided to send a commission of experts to Morocco. Criticism of the plan, however, has brought out a demand for a more thorough utilization of agricultural land at home, and that question is also being investigated.

A REVIVAL of anti-Semitic agitation is reported from Hungary, where the Jewish population, about 1,000,000 before the war, has been considerably increased by the migration of Jews from Galicia, following the Russian invasion. In a number of instances synagogues have been surrounded by troops, persons whose papers were not in order have been arrested, and rabbis who left the synagogues to protest against the proceedings have not been allowed to return. The Berne correspondent of the London *Times*, who reports the occurrences, declares that the agitation "has reached a critical point," and that "all recommendations of the higher authority and conspicuous political personages in favor of the restoration of civic peace are fruitless."

RECENT issues (Nos. 56 and 57) of the *Review of the Enemy Press*, published by the Serbian Press Bureau at Geneva, contain accounts of the Laibach conference of Jugoslavs, Czechs and Poles, held in August last.

IT is announced that E. K. Venizelos, Premier of Greece since June, 1917, will probably visit the United States early in December. The object of the visit, it is said, is to confer with President Wilson in regard to the application of the latter's peace terms to the Balkans, particularly Macedonia and Thrace, and to Asia Minor.

THE existence of a Baltic League, comprising representatives of industrial interests in Denmark, Sweden, Finland, Poland, and Esthonia, with the object of depriving Germany of its control of the Baltic and making the Baltic a free sea, has been announced by Roman Dmowski, president of the Polish National Committee at Paris, in a recent interview in the New York *Evening Post*. According to Mr. Dmowski, who is one of the promoters of the enterprise, the league was formed last spring at a semi-secret conference at Paris, and expects to present its claims to the peace conference.

A USEFUL summary account of Italian finances during the War is given in the October 15 issue of *Italy To-day*, published by the Italian Bureau of Public Information, New York.

THREE national conferences on reconstruction after the war have already been announced. The first, under the auspices of the National Municipal League, is to be held at Rochester, New York, November 20-22; the second, called by the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, at Atlantic City, December 4-6; and the third, planned by the National Popular Government League, at Washington early in January.

THE approval of the Administration is reported to have been given to the establishment at Milan, Paris, and other important European cities of permanent commissions under the auspices of the Social Democratic League of the United States. The commissions will undertake an educational campaign among the workers of Europe concerning the attitude of the American labor movement towards the war. The State Department, it is announced, will approve the selection of the commissions and will have general supervision of their work.

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